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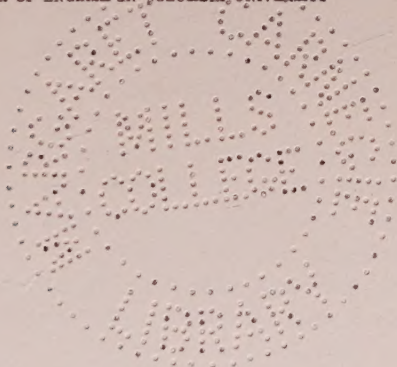


# The Pronunciation of Standard English in America

BY

GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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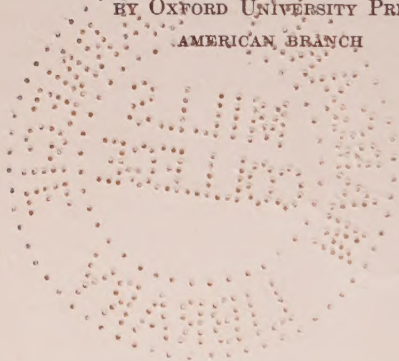
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## PREFACE

WHETHER one thinks this should or should not be so, it is a fact that most cultivated persons in America nowadays, and an increasing number in England, are more or less self-conscious about their speech. The present very general interest in the practical applications of the science of phonetics is one of the proofs of the truth of this statement. With our strange mingling of races, our widely separated but rapidly inter-communicating local units of population, our constantly shifting social boundaries between class and class, it is inevitable that, in America at least, such should be the case.

When people become conscious of so familiar an activity as speech, it means that changes are taking place in it. The universal possession of all persons in the land, the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, of farmer, artisan, laborer and merchant, speech is not only the great social solvent which makes the nation one, but also the readiest test by which such differences as exist are measured and known. And where these differences and distinctions arise out of a rapidly developing civilization, as in America, it is often extremely hard to determine their value. If we had but a single standard of speech, universally accepted and practiced, the task undertaken in this book would be easy, though obviously it would be unnecessary. But we have no standard beyond opinion, which in a democratic society must always be many-headed. If therefore in the following pages the

author has been at times less dogmatic than some of his readers think he should have been, his plea is that where there is a diversity of opinion and practice among reasonable people, there must be also an equally broad charity in judgment. Could anything be more absurd than to stigmatize as incorrect a pronunciation which is actually in general use, to put down in a dictionary only one pronunciation of a word when several are current among cultivated speakers? All cultivated speakers do not speak alike in America. If we think they should, that is a theory hard to enforce by compelling one group to yield to another. To be sure, opinion may be well-informed or ill-informed, and genuine blunders are usually due to lack of information, not to perversity. It is the purpose of this book to provide a rational method of examining pronunciation, the most important of the practical aspects of speech, in order that those who have a conscience in the matter may exercise it with justice both to themselves and to others.

The materials of the book have been ordered under the several sounds of the language. To one experienced in phonetics, no other plan would seem possible, and though perhaps at first embarrassed by an unfamiliar method, the untrained student will in the end find this the most profitable way of approach to the subject. The important thing is to acquire skill in hearing sounds as sounds, to be able to think of them as sounds apart from their representation in conventional spelling. The market is plentifully provided with dictionaries, with alphabetical lists of words said to be frequently mispronounced. The information contained in these books may or may not be trustworthy, but the best of them can offer little help to the student who wishes to observe the



facts for himself and to arrive at his own judgments. And even the fullest of these lists cannot possibly be complete or contemporary. Pronunciation changes day by day, and dictionaries soon become antiquated. The intelligent person is one who makes his own dictionary as he goes along. The author's intention has not been, therefore, to provide exhaustive lists of words which may be mispronounced, but to show how the whole subject should be approached. Such words as are treated, however, will be found in alphabetical order in the index at the end of the book.

Wherever a question of choice between two pronunciations arises, there is rarely any difficulty in making a choice after the facts are once known. It is the province of a book like this to show students how they may become sure of their facts, not to make their choices for them. The author has endeavored, however, not to make trouble where there really is none. It would have been easy to swell the number of 'mis-pronunciations' by culling from the lists of books of the twenty-thousand-words-often-mispronounced kind. But most of the words recorded in such books are not mispronunciations. They are merely rare and learned words which few persons ever have any occasion to pronounce. A word can be said to have acquired a pronunciation in the English language only when it is current on the lips of English-speaking people. Otherwise it is an eye-word, without an established phonetic value. The instances discussed in the present volume are such as the author himself has observed. None are taken at second hand from books. Though they may not correspond to every other person's particular observations and special difficulties in pronunciation, what they may lack in inclusiveness will

perhaps be compensated for by the fact that they are neither traditional survivals from books nor fanciful dilemmas of a theorist, but genuine records of present speech in America.

The professional student of phonetics seems to find it hard to resist the fascination which the game of inventing symbols exerts. The conventional alphabet is obviously inadequate for any scientific purposes, and scores of phonetic alphabets have been invented to take its place. If a phonetic alphabet is an evil, it is a necessary evil. But moderation should be practiced in the exercise of this evil, for once started, there is obviously no limit to the number of symbols one may devise as records of his observations. It may be said, moreover, that in the end not even the most elaborate phonetic alphabet can record all the shadings and nuances of speech sounds current daily in good use. For one seeking absolute completeness and precision, some device, richer in possibilities than an alphabet must be discovered.

In this book neither absolute precision nor a very high degree of precision in the notation of sounds has been attempted. The author's aim having been not to elaborate, but to simplify as much as possible, it may occasionally be felt that certain sounds have gone unrecorded. Thus the alphabet employed provides symbols for only two pronunciations of the vowel in **got**, **hot**, **not**, etc., that is the short of the vowels which appear in the first syllables of **father** and **author**. Perhaps a third intermediary sound should have been recorded, representing a vowel approximately with the same tongue position as the vowel of **father**, but with slight rounding of the lips. Likewise the two vowels of a word like **city** are not quite the same, though they have been indicated in the



present volume by the same phonetic symbol. Yet again, the initial consonants in pairs of words like **haul** and **heel**, **gone** and **geese**, **call** and **keel** are acoustically different and are organically formed in different ways. The quality of the consonant, in these instances, is dependent upon the vowel by which it is followed. In a word like **city**, the second vowel may be said to be an unstressed variant of the first. And whenever it is possible to take account of sound variations in this way by means of a general explanatory statement, the author has chosen to do this in preference to adding to the number of symbols. Where one has several relatively slight variations in pronunciation, as in the pronunciation of **not**, **hot**, **got**, etc., the author has again preferred to indicate what might be called the extremes of tendency by means of phonetic symbols, filling in the modifications between these extremes by means of a descriptive statement. No introductory work on phonetics can read like an algebraic formula, or if it did, no one would read it.

Perhaps a word of explanation, if not of apology, is needed for the use of the word **American** as signifying the United States. In this the author is merely following general usage and does not mean to imply that the English of Canada either is or should be like the English of the United States. Canada is fortunate in having the adjective **Canadian**, but we have no adjective form for the United States. If we seem to be appropriating a general term for a specific meaning, we would point out that such is not the case, for **American** has practically ceased to be a general term. By this same warrant of usage, the term **English** has been applied to the speech of America, just as it must be applied to every country where the English language is spoken. If a more exact

limitation of the general term is required, we must speak of American English, of British English, of Canadian English, of any of the half dozen varieties of English that have established for themselves local homes upon the face of the globe.

Geographical limitations in American speech, especially American standard speech, are extremely difficult to determine with precision, and in this book have been indicated only in the most general terms. The reason for this is that American cultivated speech is extraordinarily mixed. Relatively few Americans spend all their lives in one locality, and even if they do, they cannot possibly escape coming into contact with Americans from other localities. The result is that a 'pure dialect,' if any such thing ever does exist, must be sought elsewhere than in our much-traveling and very adaptable cultivated and educated classes. The universal negative is the last form of dogmatism upon which the careful student of American speech will insist. It is safer to indulge in a universal affirmative, to say that any pronunciation which may occur in cultivated speech, may occur in any region of America. For several large divisions, especially in the speech of the more obviously typical local representatives, we have a fairly defined feeling. We can distinguish with some certainty Eastern and Western and Southern speech, but beyond this the author has little confidence in those confident experts who think they can tell infallibly, by the test of speech, a native of Hartford from a native of Providence, or a native of Philadelphia from a native of Atlanta, or even, if one insist on infallibility, a native of Chicago from a native of Boston. This means of course that geographical distinctions are not of prime importance in the discussion of standard

American speech. Cultivated Americans do not all speak alike, but on the other hand, they do not move in mutually exclusive and self-centered circles in their habits of speech. Holmes insists, in the *Autocrat*, that the accent of a word may tell you all you want to know about the origin and possibilities of a person. Perhaps it may, but it is well to remember that such judgments are likely to place the placer quite as inescapably as they do his victim.

The term standard speech, it will thus be seen, has been used by the author without a very exact definition. Everybody knows that there is no type of speech uniform and accepted in practice by all persons in America. What the author has called standard may perhaps be best defined negatively, as the speech which is least likely to attract attention to itself as being peculiar to any class or locality. As a matter of fact, speech does not often attract notice to itself unless it is markedly peculiar. For the most part when one is listening to the speech of others, one is intent upon getting the meaning, not upon observing the form. In consequence there is likely to be, even in what we may justly call standard speech, a considerable area of negligible variation, negligible, that is, from the point of view of the practical use of language. To the conscientious and critical listener, many of these variations may seem reprehensible, but only so by the test of some theoretical or ideal standard. In the following pages, wherever the author has put down a form or several forms of speech without defining them as provincial, or dialectal, or vulgar, or artificial, he would have the usages taken as being, in his opinion, standard, and if two or more differing standard pronunciations are given, the implication intended is that a speaker is as likely to offend

as many critical listeners by using one as by using another of the pronunciations.

Perhaps it is not necessary to say that this book has not been prepared for the purpose of showing the difference between American and British pronunciation, or of proving that either one of these is better than the other. Whenever reference has been made to British pronunciation, the comparison has been made in order to indicate more definitely the facts of American pronunciation. The concern of the book is above all with these facts, and as it cannot well be denied that we have an attained result in the pronunciation of English in America, it would seem that our first obligation is to become aware of the facts, to recognize their existence just as we recognize the existence of our other distinctive social institutions. On the basis of such knowledge, one may at least intelligently proceed to the building of theories for the improvement of American speech, if one is so moved. Yet it seems scarcely credible that one who knows the facts should think it possible to impose British standards upon American speech, or to do anything but ally himself to the best tendencies, as each observer sympathetically views them, of our native American pronunciation.

An important section of the book, to which it is suggested that the student give very special attention, is that at the conclusion, consisting of passages in phonetic transcription. These should be carefully studied in detail, and every student should make similar transcriptions, based upon his observations. The first five transcriptions here presented as examples are representations of standard pronunciation, as observed and recorded by the author himself. Passages six to twelve are records of the pronunciation of several individuals taken down for this

book. They represent varieties of standard pronunciation, the intention being that they should be indicative but not exhaustive of the great number of current forms of standard speech. Passages thirteen to sixteen are phonetic transcriptions of literary records of American dialect speech, and they have been included to afford material for the comparison of standard with dialect speech. Finally passages seventeen to nineteen may be used for a comparative study of British and American speech. In England as in America differing opinions are held on the question of standard speech, though both scholars and general public seem pretty well agreed that Southern British has greater right to be regarded as standard than any other form of British speech. Northern British, however, stands a good deal closer to American English than does Southern British. In fact it is only rather extreme forms of Southern British which seem markedly different from American speech.

For permission to reproduce the passage from *Jane Eyre*, the author acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Daniel Jones, Reader in Phonetics in the University of London. A similar obligation extends to other writers who have permitted him to make phonetic transcriptions of passages from their published works, and a greater to those persons who have submitted to his inquisitions and who have sacrificed time and convenience to enable him to make phonetic transcriptions of their pronunciation. Thanks are due to Professor H. M. Ayres for aid with the proof, and Mr. William Tilly who helpfully criticized some of the opening sections of the book. The author is indebted also to the members of various classes before which he has lectured in the Summer Session as well as in the regular sessions of Columbia University. If one

cannot travel everywhere in America, the next best substitute is to be seated at a great city university like Columbia, whither students come from every nook and cranny of the country, eager to impart as well as to receive information.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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# SYMBOLS

## VOWELS

SYMBOL	KEY	TRANSCRIPTION
[a]	<i>not</i>	[nat]
[aɪ]	<i>father</i>	['faɪðəɪ]
[aɪ]	<i>fast</i>	[faɪst]
[æ]	<i>hat</i>	[hæt]
[e], [e·], [eɪ]	<i>vacation</i>	[ve'ke·ʃən]
	<i>late</i>	[leɪt]
[e]	<i>get</i>	[get]
[eɪ]	<i>there</i>	[ðeɪɪ]
[ə]	<i>about</i>	[ə'baʊt]
[ə]	<i>bird</i>	[bəɪd]
[i], [i·], [iɪ]	<i>expediency</i>	[eks'pɪdɪənsɪ]
	<i>freedom</i>	['fri·dəm]
	<i>free</i>	[friɪ]
[ɪ]	<i>sit</i>	[sɪt]
[o], [o·], [oɪ]	<i>locomotive</i>	[ˈləkə'mo·tɪv]
	<i>note</i>	[noɪt]
[ɔ]	<i>auditory</i>	['ɔdɪ'tɔɪ]
[ɔɪ]	<i>law</i>	[ləɪ]
[u], [uɪ]	<i>altruistic</i>	[æltru'ɪstɪk]
	<i>true</i>	[truɪ]
[ʊ]	<i>bush</i>	[bʊʃ]
[ʌ]	<i>but</i>	[bʌt]
[ʌɪ]	<i>hurt</i>	[hʌɪt]

## DIPHTHONGS

SYMBOL	KEY	TRANSCRIPTION	SYMBOL	KEY	TRANSCRIPTION
[eɪ]	<i>play</i>	[pleɪ]	[aʊ]	<i>house</i>	[haʊs]
[aɪ]	<i>ride</i>	[raɪd]	[ɔɪ]	<i>boil</i>	[bɔɪl]
[oʊ]	<i>go</i>	[gou]	[ju]	<i>mute</i>	[mjut]

## CONSONANTS

SYMBOL	KEY	TRANSCRIPTION	SYMBOL	KEY	TRANSCRIPTION
[b]	<i>bib</i>	[bɪb]	[ɪ]	<i>first</i>	[fəɪst]
[d]	<i>did</i>	[dɪd]	[s]	<i>best</i>	[best]
[g]	<i>gig</i>	[gɪg]	[z]	<i>rise</i>	[raɪz]
[h]	<i>house</i>	[haʊs]	[ʃ]	<i>wish</i>	[wɪʃ]
[j]	<i>yawl</i>	[jɔɪl]	[ʒ]	<i>pleasure</i>	[ˈpleʒəɪ]
[k]	<i>king</i>	[kɪŋ]	[t]	<i>talk</i>	[tɔɪk]
[l]	<i>land</i>	[lənd]	[θ]	<i>thing</i>	[θɪŋ]
[m]	<i>man</i>	[mæn]	[ð]	<i>that</i>	[ðæt]
[n]	<i>not, knot</i>	[nat]	[f]	<i>stiff</i>	[stɪf]
[ŋ]	<i>sing</i>	[sɪŋ]	[v]	<i>drive</i>	[draɪv]
[p]	<i>tap</i>	[tæp]	[w]	<i>wet</i>	[wet]
[r]	<i>very</i>	[veri]	[ʌ]	<i>whet</i>	[ʌet]

- : after a sound indicates a long sound, as in *father* [ˈfɑːðə], [jɔːl].
- after a sound indicates a half-long sound, as in *vacation* [veˈkeʃən].
- ˈ indicates a full or main stress on the following syllable, as in *about* [əˈbaʊt].
- ˌ indicates a secondary or half stress on the following syllable, as in *bookshelf* [ˈbʊkˌʃelf].



# I

## THE MECHANISM OF SPEECH

1. Before it is possible to discuss intelligently or intelligibly the sounds of any speech, it is necessary to know by just what activities of the speech organs the sounds are formed, and to have some means of symbolizing the several sounds with approximate precision, that is, a phonetic alphabet. In this book all phonetic representations of sounds will be enclosed within square brackets and will immediately follow the conventional spelling when the two are employed together. The phonetic alphabet is that of the International Phonetic Association, with several slight modifications.

2. Though there is a very high degree of similarity in the way in which different persons form the various sounds of speech, all speakers do not necessarily produce what seems to be acoustically the same sound by exactly the same formations of the organs of speech. The prime reason for this is that the physical equipment, for example the number and arrangement of teeth or the angle of the jaws, is not the same in all persons. An experimental method, applied by each person upon himself, is therefore a necessity in the study of speech. In the end all organic analysis of speech must be an analysis of individual speech, and one must always make a certain amount of allowance for personal peculiarities, both in one's own speech and in that of others. Extended observation,

however, enables one to make generalizations which hold for a very considerable majority of cases.

3. All speech sounds in English are made by air as it is expelled through the confining walls of the larynx, the mouth and the nose, the specific character of the sound being determined in each case by the special organ or group of organs which function most actively in shaping or obstructing the air passage. English has no indrawing sounds in articulate speech.

4. When all the speech organs are relaxed and the breath is allowed to issue without any constraint, it normally produces no sound, though it may sometimes be heard as breathing or 'heavy breathing,' especially when one breathes with the mouth open or when the nasal passages are abnormally obstructed. When the lips are closed and the breath is expelled forcibly through the nose, it produces the familiar sniff of scorn or contempt, which is of course not an articulate speech sound. Articulate speech sounds are only those sounds which are articulated, or joined, to other sounds in the formation of sound groups or words. The articulate speech sounds of one language are not the same as those of another. French and English, for example, have some sounds which are alike, but in the main, each has its own system of sounds, specially selected from the practically limitless number of sounds which the human organs of speech are capable of producing.

5. *Voiced and Voiceless Sounds.* When the rift between the vocal chords is so narrowed by the muscles which control the tightening and loosing of the chords that the air from the lungs as it is driven through this rift, known



as the glottis, sets the edges of the chords into vibration, the result is what is technically known as *Voice* or *Voiced sounds* (sometimes called *Sonants*). When the air issuing from the lungs produces a sound without setting the vocal chords in vibration, the sound is *Voiceless* (also called *Breathed* or *Surd*). The difference between voiced and voiceless sounds is plainly audible to the observing ear, and may be further tested by placing the finger on the Adam's apple, when the vibrations will be distinctly felt in the case of the voiced sounds. In testing consonants in this way, the consonant proper should be distinguished from the vowel that accompanies it in the conventional names of the letters of the alphabet. All vowels are voiced, but some consonants are accompanied by voice, e.g., **b** [b] in **be**, **d** [d] in **do**, **g** [g] in **go**, **th** [ð] in **father**, **z**, **s** [z] in **prize**, **rise**, while others are voiceless, e.g., **p** [p] in **pay**, **t** [t] in **tea**, **k** [k] in **key**, **th** [θ] in **thin**, **c**, **s** [s] in **rice**, **sing**. Voiced and voiceless consonants usually go in pairs, that is, [b] represents a voiced sound of which [p] is the voiceless equivalent; so also [d] is voiced, [t] is voiceless; [g] is voiced, [k] is voiceless; [v] is voiced, [f] is voiceless; the medial consonant of **pleasure** [ˈpleʒər] is voiced, and its voiceless equivalent is the final consonant of **wish** [wɪʃ]; **th** is voiced [ð] in **then**, but voiceless [θ] in **thin**. It is advisable for students to train themselves carefully in observing the difference between voiced and voiceless sounds so that the distinction becomes immediately clear with reference to any particular sound as soon as it is heard.

6. Consonants are often written in the conventional spelling with the symbol which ordinarily represents a voiced sound, but the sounds so written are pronounced

voiceless when they are assimilated to other voiceless sounds in their vicinity, as the final consonant in **walked** [wɔkt], **stripped** [stript]; or they are written with the symbol for a voiceless consonant which is assimilated to a neighboring voiced sound, as in **eggs** [ɛgz]; **paths** [pɑðz]; **tags** [tægz] as compared with **tacks** [tæks]; **gooseberry** ['guɪz'beri], in which [s] of **goose** becomes [z] by assimilation to the voiced consonant [b].

7. Frequently also a consonant which is under a stress and voiceless, becomes voiced when not under the stress, as in **exhibition** ['ɛksɪ'bɪʃən], but **exhibit** [ɛg'zɪbɪt]. It may be stated as a general rule that stress tends to preserve voiceless consonants as such, but lack of stress, or relatively light stress, tends to permit them to become voiced. This applies not only to stress within the word, but also to stress in the word group or phrase. Thus **of** is usually a lightly stressed word in its group, e.g., **a man of ability**, and its phonetic value is [əv], as in [ə'mæn əv ə'bɪlɪtɪ]. The adverb **off** [ɔ:f] is etymologically the same word, but is stressed and consequently retains its voiceless consonant, as in **it fell off** [ɪt 'fɛl 'ɔ:f].

8. The symbol **x** of the ordinary spelling represents a double consonant sound [ks] as in **tax** [tæks]; **j**, also sometimes **g**, represents [dʒ] as in **jug** [dʒʌg], **gem** [dʒɛm]; **ch** stands for [tʃ] as in **chin** [tʃɪn]. On the other hand, two symbols are used in the ordinary spelling for [ð] [θ], as in **then** [ðɛn], **thin** [θɪn], where the consonant is but a simple sound. The spelling **q** followed by **u** stands for [kw] as in **quick** [kwɪk].

9. *The Mouth.* Besides the vocal chords, the organs most actively concerned in the production of speech

sounds are the tongue, the palate, the teeth, the gums (alveoli), the lips and the nose. The tongue, an extremely flexible combination of muscles, may be moved as a whole, and at the same time one part of it is commonly much more active than the rest. It is necessary to distinguish at least four main surface regions of the tongue, the back, which we may observe as being elevated to form the stoppage producing the initial consonant, a voiceless stop consonant, in **call** [kəɪl]; the front (sometimes also called the middle) which is the region immediately in front of the back and which may be observed as forming the stoppage producing the voiceless stop consonant in **kill** [kɪl]; the blade of the tongue, which is the surface just forward of the front, readily observed as functioning in the production of the vowel sound of **seat** [si:t]; and finally the point or tip of the tongue, which plays the most considerable part in the production of the sound of **d** [d], **t** [t], **th** [θ] [ð]. In the analysis of some of the vowels, it is necessary to divide further the surface regions of the tongue between front and back. The term half-front means a position between front and back but nearer front than back, and half-back means a position between the two but nearer back than front.

10. The vertical position of the tongue as a whole may also be varied, and it is important to distinguish at least three vertical positions, high, mid and low. When the tongue is in high position, the body of it is raised so that it is felt along the roof of the mouth and against the upper teeth, as in the vowel of **he** [hi:]; when it is in the mid position, as in the stressed vowel of **fetter** [ˈfɛtəɪ], it extends along the middle of the mouth and the point rests against the roots of the lower front teeth; when it

is in low position, as in the vowel of **haul** [hə:l], the tongue rests on the floor of the mouth and the point touches the lower gums. The surface divisions and the vertical positions of the tongue are important in analyzing both vowel and consonant sounds, but more important for vowels than consonants. A looking-glass should be used as an aid in studying the movements and positions of the tongue. For a more exact analysis of the vertical positions of the tongue, one might consider five positions, as follows, high, high-mid, mid, low-mid, low.

11. *Tense and Slack Sounds.* One other distinction with respect to the tongue is significant, especially in the study of vowel sounds, that is, the degree of its muscular tension. It may be slack (or relaxed), as in the vowel of **sit** [sɪt], or tense (or flexed), as in the vowel of **he** [hi]. When the vowel is slack its vertical position is slightly lower than when tense, but not so much so as would follow a general shifting of the body of the tongue. The vowels of **he** and **sit** are both high vowels, the former being high blade tense, the latter high blade slack. The sides of the mouth and the lips generally are also likely to be held more firmly in pronouncing a tense than in pronouncing a slack sound. All long and stressed vowels are relatively tenser than short or unstressed vowels. A phonetic alphabet of high precision should have a means for indicating degrees of tenseness, but for practical purposes perhaps these general remarks and those to be found under the discussion of the separate sounds will prove as useful as an elaborate system of representation, and less distracting. Speakers differ widely in the degree of tenseness and slackness of their sounds, a slow and lazy speaker often having none of the tense vowel sounds

which are characteristic of a cultivated and vigorous enunciation. The only way of testing the organic difference between tense and slack sounds is by observing the difference in muscular sensation which attends the production of them. By focusing attention upon these sensations, one may become as clearly conscious of muscular tension in the tongue as of muscular tension in the arms or legs.

12. *Stops and Continuants.* The column of air as it issues may be completely stopped by the organs of speech, with a sudden release or explosion, or only partially stopped, with a gradual emission of the breath. When it is completely stopped, the sounds produced are stop consonants (also called explosives, or plosives), e.g., **d** in **did** [did], **p** in **pip** [pip], **b** in **bib** [bib]. When the air passage is only partly obstructed, the sound produced is a continuant consonant, e.g., the sounds represented in the conventional alphabet by **r**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **th**, **f**, **v**, **s**, **z**, **h**, **ch**, **sh**, **y**. Stop consonants are instantaneous, but continuants share with vowels the possibility of being lengthened indefinitely. The difference between vowel and consonant is largely one of degree, a vowel being a sound produced without any notable obstruction of the vocal passage, a consonant, one in which the air current is definitely obstructed, either wholly or partially. Certain vowels, such as the vowel [i:] when pronounced very tensely, or the vowel [u] pronounced with excessive rounding, shade imperceptibly into the continuant consonants [j], [w]. Normally, however, the distinction between vowel and consonant is quite clear. The continuant consonants **r**, **l**, **m**, **n** are sometimes called semivowels, and they may constitute syllables by themselves without



an accompanying vowel, as in **winter** ['wɪntɪ], **table** ['teɪbl], **heaven** ['heɪvən]. Words of this type may, of course, be pronounced with a vowel before the final consonant, that is, ['wɪntə], ['teɪbəl], ['heɪvən], but these would be very formal pronunciations. When a consonant is syllabic, a dot may be placed under it to indicate this fact. This is not necessary, however, since a consonant which is syllabic will naturally be pronounced so without special direction.

13. Stop consonants, both voiced and voiceless, though especially the latter, are pronounced in English with such a violent explosion of the breath, that they are mechanically followed by a slight, but distinctly audible breath continuant, [h]. A more exact representation of the consonants in **dig**, **toy**, etc., would therefore be [d<sup>h</sup>ɪg<sup>h</sup>], [t<sup>h</sup>ɔɪ], etc. This slight after-sound will not be indicated in the phonetic transcriptions of the present volume, the general statement here made being intended to cover all instances, but the phenomena should be carefully studied. Note that there is a greater aspiration after an initial than after a final consonant, as in **pop**; or when a consonant stands alone, as in **pool**, than when in close combination with another consonant, as in **spool**, cf. also **tin**, **sting**, **peach**, **speech**, etc.; or when a consonant bears a relatively heavy stress, than when lightly stressed, as in the two stop consonants of **paper**, the two [t] sounds of **potato**, the two [k] sounds of **cocoa**; or after a voiceless than after a voiced stop, cf. **toe** and **dough**. The extent to which the aspiration is present thus seems to depend upon the degree of intensity or energy with which the explosions are made. With some speakers the aspiration is scarcely audible at all, though such speakers are rare



and are usually of a somewhat listless habit in speech. On the other hand, an extreme of aspiration is present in some forms of dialect speech, see below, p. 202.

14. In words like **better**, **winter**, **putty**, and in general in words in which a stressed stop is followed by an unstressed **-er**, or an unstressed vowel, the stop is sometimes pronounced without aspiration, the final syllable **-er** being ordinarily represented merely by a syllabic **r**, i.e., [ˈbetɹ], [ˈwɪntɹ]. But the pronunciation with the stop consonant aspirated is to be preferred. When a voiceless stop is not aspirated, it commonly sounds like a voiced stop, as in pronunciations like [ˈwɪndɹ], [ˈbedɹ], [ˈwɔdɹ], [ˈledɹ], [ˈpɒdɹ], for **winter**, **better**, **water**, **letter**, **putty**. See § 240.

15. When two stop consonants come together, the first of the two is usually pronounced with an incomplete explosion of the breath. Thus words like **looked** or **befogged** are not pronounced with a fully formed [k] as in **look**, or a fully formed [g] as in **fog**, followed in the former case by [t], in the latter by [d]. If they were, the complete phonetic form of such words would be something like [lʊk<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>], [bɪˈfɔg<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>]. What happens is that the organic position for [k] or [g] is assumed, is then held for a moment, the organic position for the following stop being arrived at before any explosion takes place. In consequence, there is only one complete explosion in **looked** **befogged**, and many similar consonant combinations. There is, however, a very slight fricative consonant sound, a kind of [h], which is heard after the vowel and before the pause. Analytically, a word like **looked** would consist of the initial consonant, the vowel, the slight frictional glide before the stop position for [k] is completely assumed, a

pause, and finally the explosion which produces [t]. See § 346.

**16. *Palate and Nose.*** The palate may be considered as composed of two parts, the soft-palate (or velum), at the back of the mouth, and the hard-palate, which forms the concave roof of the mouth. In front of the hard-palate lies the bony ridge of the alveoli or gums. The hard-palate is immovable, but the soft-palate is subject to muscular control and can be raised or lowered at will. When it is raised, as for the most part it is in speaking, it closes the entrance to the nasal canals, hence the name **velum**, 'veil.' When it is lowered, the air is permitted to pass through the nose, as in breathing or in the production of the nasal consonants **n** [n] as in **sin** [sɪn], **m** [m] as in **him** [hɪm], **ng** [ŋ] as in **song**, **sing** [sɔŋ], [sɪŋ]. In pronouncing a nasal consonant, no breath is permitted to escape through the mouth, but the current is stopped either at the lips, as in [m], or within the mouth by the pressure of the tongue against the front of the roof of the mouth, as in [n], or further back, as in [ŋ].

**17. *Nasal Vowels.*** English has no nasal vowels in recognized good use, though with many speakers in America, almost all the vowels, but especially the low and mid slack vowels, are nasalized, and at the same time are lengthened or 'drawled,' see §§ 80-82, 128. The nasal pronunciation of vowels is usually the result of a lazy and unenergetic enunciation. It is by no means peculiar to American speech, but is heard in England, if not as generally, often quite as markedly as in America. Since nasal vowels result from lowering the velum and thus permitting air to issue through the nose as well as the mouth, a good way to test their presence in one's

speech is to hold the nostrils shut while pronouncing the vowels. If one finds that one's vowels are the same, whether one holds the nostrils shut or does not, there can be no nasalization in the sounds. But if one finds that one produces a different vowel sound when one holds the nostrils shut from that which is produced when one does not, this means that the vowels are nasalized, the peculiar quality of the sounds in the first case being due to the fact that the air which normally escapes through the nose in pronouncing a nasal vowel is obstructed artificially by the pressure of the fingers on the nostrils. This produces the peculiar 'twang' described in the next paragraph. The fault of nasalization is one merely of habit and can be corrected by practice. It is most likely to occur in vowels which precede or follow a nasal consonant, whether [m], [n] or [ŋ], but with many speakers it is heard also in vowels not in nasal surroundings. Nasalization of vowels is so general in American speech that it often passes unnoticed, and is often present in the speech of persons who are quite unaware of the fact and who can be made to realize it only after much patient observation. Some speakers who do not ordinarily nasalize vowels are inclined to do so when they are tired.

18. Another kind of faulty nasal speech is sometimes heard in speakers who pinch together the walls of the nose at its outlet, raising the upper lip and tightening all the muscles of that region of the face, the result being a peculiar 'twang' or resonance which is immediately corrected by relaxing these muscles and allowing the breath to issue freely from the nose in pronouncing nasal consonants, and in the case of vowels, by raising the velum so that the air does not enter the nasal canals at all. This

kind of nasalization is less common than that described in the preceding paragraph, though it is marked in some types of American dialect speech.

19. The 'talking through the nose' of a person with a cold in the head is not truly described by this phrase, for one of the main characteristics of this supposed talking through the nose is that the velum and the nasal passages being inflamed and swollen, the nasal channels are obstructed mechanically, and the escape of the breath through the nose, which takes place when the velum is lowered in pronouncing a nasal consonant, or when it relaxes normally after the pronunciation of other consonants or a vowel, is prevented. The result is that instead of **n** [n], one with a cold will pronounce something like [d], and for **m** will pronounce [b], and for [ŋ] will pronounce [g], as in [gʊd 'bɔ:ɪŋ] for **good morning**; [sprɪŋ, 'dʒedtl sprɪŋ] for **spring, gentle spring**; [ə kə:ld ɪd baɪ doɪz] for **a cold in my nose**.

20. *The Lips.* The form of the lips is also to be noted, especially in studying vowel sounds, and is easily observed. They may be drawn back (wide or spread) as they are in pronouncing the vowel of **he, see, tea**, etc., or they may be rounded (protruded or pouted) as they are in pronouncing the vowel of **too, do, blue**, etc. When they are neither wide nor rounded, but are in the normal position of rest, as in the first vowel of **father**, or the first vowel of **about**, they are said to be neutral. Various stages of widening are to be observed between neutral position and the extreme wide position of **tea**, and likewise various degrees of rounding between neutral position and the extreme rounding of **too**. Even a slight shift from one position to another may modify the quality

of a vowel. Many speakers tend to move their lips very little, and almost all English sounds can be made audibly, though monotonously and not clearly, with practically no motion of the lips. A clear and distinct enunciation, however, demands an active muscular control of the lips.



## II

### DESCRIPTION OF SOUNDS

**21. Voiced Stops.** The phonetic symbols for the voiced stops are [b], [d], [g]. The first of these is a voiced bilabial stop, as in **beet** [bi:t], **baby** ['beɪbɪ], **bib** [bɪb]; the second is a voiced point alveolar stop, as in **do** [du:], **shady** ['ʃeɪdɪ], **did** [dɪd]. The character of the sound represented by [g] varies considerably according to the quality of the vowel sounds with which it is combined. With a back vowel, as in the word **gong** [gɒŋ], the sound is a voiced back soft-palate stop. When the vocalic surrounding is front, as in **geese** [gi:s], **fatigue** [fæ'ti:g], the consonant is a voiced front hard-palate stop. The shading from the extreme of the back sound to the extreme of the front sound is gradual in differing combinations. As the front or back quality of this sound is dependent upon the vowel with which it is combined and is necessarily determined by it, in the interest of economy in the alphabet one symbol, [g], will be used in this book for all shades of the sound.

**22. Voiceless Stops.** The phonetic symbols for the voiceless stops are [p], [t], [k]. They are the voiceless equivalents of [b], [d], [g], the first being a voiceless bilabial stop, as in **pay** [peɪ], **pope** [po:p]; the second a voiceless point alveolar stop, as in **hit** [hɪt], **debtor** ['detəɹ]. As with [g], the character of the sound represented by [k] is determined by vocalic surrounding. In

**call** [kɔ:l], the initial consonant is a voiceless back soft-palate stop, but in **keel** [ki:l] it is a voiceless front hard-palate stop.

23. *Fricative Continuants.* The term 'fricative continuants' designates those consonants which produce an acoustic effect of whistling, hissing, puffing, 'rolling,' or merely 'rough breathing.' They are of several varieties and must be described separately.

24. [h] represents the voiceless glottal fricative and the voiceless front fricative. As a voiceless glottal fricative, [h] is produced with the tongue lying neutral on the floor of the mouth, as it does in normal breathing, but with the glottis so narrowed by a partial closure of the vocal chords that the air in passing between them causes an audible friction. If the vocal chords were drawn close together and the glottis quite closed, the air forcing its way through would set the chords vibrating and thus produce a vowel sound. Thus in the exclamation **Ha!** [hɑ:], the only change which takes place in the transition from the consonant to the vowel is a change at the glottis, which changes from half-closed in [h] to closed in [ɑ:]. When [h] precedes a vowel the formation of which requires a departure of the tongue from that position of almost complete rest which it occupies in [ɑ:], the tongue position is assumed for the vowel even while the consonant is being pronounced, as in **hat** [hæt]. And in general one may say that there are as many varieties of [h] as there are varieties of vowels before which it may stand. Before the high vowels, however, the glottal friction tends to be replaced by a friction made in the mouth, and [h] standing before a strongly stressed [i:], as in **heed** [hi:d], becomes a voiceless front fricative, formed by

pressing the front of the tongue so hard against the palate that the air in escaping produces a consonantal noise. The main differences between [i:] and [h] in **heed** are that in the consonant the tongue is pressed closer to the palate, therefore forms more of an obstruction to the current of air, and that the consonant is voiceless, the vowel voiced. The voiceless front fricative is still more unmistakably heard in words like **hue**, **hew**, **Hugh** [hju:], **huge** [hju:dʒ], **humor** ['hju:mə]. It is both unnecessary and impracticable to record all shades of [h], and the one symbol will be here used to cover all varieties of the sound.

25. [j] represents the voiced front fricative, formed with the front of the tongue raised close to the hard-palate, the sound made by the breath escaping through the narrow opening being accompanied by vibration of the vocal chords. Before a back vowel, as in **yawl** [jə:l], the [j] is formed slightly farther back than it is before a front vowel, as in **yield** [ji:ld], but the difference is not great. This sound is not strongly consonantal in English. The tongue position for it is almost the same as for [i], and this vowel slightly raised and intensified passes over into [j]. It is the first element in the so-called 'long u' sound, as in **music** ['mju:zɪk], **pure** [pjʊə], etc. It is commonly represented in the ordinary spelling by **y**.

26. [ʍ] may be described as a voiceless, back, lip-rounded fricative. The tongue is raised at the back, the lips are rounded so as to reduce the opening of the mouth, thus causing a friction that produces a slight whistling sound. Its corresponding voiced form is [w], though [ʍ] is slightly more whistling than [w], the lips being more pursed and the breath expelled more energetically. The usual spelling for [ʍ] is **wh**, as in **whit**

[ʌɪt], **which** [ʌɪtʃ], **while** [ʌaɪl], etc. Many speakers have only [w] for both [w] and [ʌ], see §§ 27, 372.

27. [w] is the voiced, back, lip-rounded fricative. The distinction between the voiced and voiceless sound will be apparent to some speakers only after close observation and experiment. Speakers who have no [ʌ] are advised to study carefully the pronunciation of such pairs of words as **whit**, **wit**, **whet**, **wet**, **when**, **wen**, **which**, **witch**, etc. The ordinary spelling for the sound is **w**, but also **u** after **q**, **g**, as in **quit** [kwɪt], **language** ['læŋgwɪdʒ], after **s** in **persuade**, **dissuade**, etc., and the sound appears also in several words, e.g., **one** [wʌn], **choir** ['kwaɪəɪ], the spelling of which is exceptional.

28. [f], the voiceless upper-teeth lower-lip fricative, as in **fit** [fɪt], **stiff** [stɪf], **famish** ['fæmɪʃ], **rough** [ɹʌf], **philosophy** [fɪ'ləsəfɪ]. The sound is caused by the escape of the breath as it is forced through the openings between the upper teeth. With some speakers whose teeth are set very close together, the breath is allowed to escape between the edges of the upper teeth and the lower lip. In general it should be said that owing to the great difference which exists among individuals in the formation of their teeth, all sounds in the production of which the teeth are a prominent factor can be and are produced in a variety of ways.

29. [v], the voiced upper-teeth lower-lip fricative, as in **live** [lɪv], [laɪv], **vat** [væt], **vision** ['vɪʒn], ['vɪʒən], **heavy** ['heɪvɪ]. Foreign speakers sometimes pronounce [v] for [w], in learning English, but the error is easily corrected by observing the manner in which the sounds are produced. In pronouncing [w], the upper teeth

never touch the lower lip, but both upper and lower lip are protruded. In pronouncing [v] the lips are drawn back or widened.

30. [θ] is a voiceless point inter-dental fricative. The point of the tongue is between the upper and lower teeth, the breath escaping mainly between the middle upper teeth. Some speakers extend the point of the tongue between and slightly beyond the teeth, but with others the tongue is placed merely on the edge of the upper teeth. The acoustic effect is the same. Examples of words in which [θ] occurs are **thing** [θɪŋ], **breath** [brɛθ], **hath** [hæθ], **myth** [mɪθ], **wrath** [ræθ].

31. [ð] is the voiced equivalent of [θ], being a voiced point inter-dental fricative, as in **that** [ðæt], **thus** [ðʌs], **father** [ˈfɑɪðə], **feather** [ˈfɛðə], **baths** (*noun*) [bæɪðz], **with** [wɪð]. When strongly stressed, as in the adverbial position at the end of a sentence, **with** may have a voiceless consonant, [wɪθ].

32. Many foreigners, for example Frenchmen and Germans, have difficulty with the sounds [θ], [ð] in speaking English, not because the sounds are hard in themselves, but because they do not occur in the native language of the speakers, and being unfamiliar, are pronounced like sounds that are familiar, usually [f], [s] or [v], [z]. Any one who understands the way in which the sounds are made can readily produce them.

33. [s], a sound of somewhat complicated formation. The point of the tongue is pressed lightly against the upper teeth, the blade lightly against the gums, the front teeth are loosely closed, and the breath is sent forth in a



narrow stream over the tongue and between the teeth. It may be described, therefore, as a voiceless, blade-alveolar point post-dental fricative. It appears in words like **sin** [sɪn], **sieve** [sɪv], **cell** [sɛl], **psalm** [saɪm], **receive** [rɪ'si:v], **fancy** ['fænsɪ].

34. The difference between normal [s] and a sharp, hissing sound sometimes heard for **s** is that in the latter the teeth are tightly closed, the tongue tense, and the breath sent forth with greater force than it is in [s]. In cultivated speech, [s] is a gentle rather than an energetic sound.

35. [z] is formed in the same way as [s], with the addition of voicing. The tongue may be very slightly lower and more relaxed in pronouncing [z] than it is in pronouncing [s]. The sound is commonly written as **z** or **s**, as in **zinc** [zɪŋk], **zealous** ['zeləs], **dizzy** ['dɪzɪ], **his** [hɪz], **beds** [bedz], **music** ['mju:zɪk].

36. When [z] occurs at the end of a word, the sound is really composed of two parts. The main part is the voiced continuant represented by the symbol [z], but at its conclusion the sound changes from voiced to voiceless, from [z] to [s]. In their treatment of [z], some speakers, usually those of foreign tradition, have a very 'buzzing' kind of pronunciation, due to the fact that their final [z] is pronounced voiced throughout. This makes the sound seem unusually long, though its peculiarity lies not in its length, but in the lack of the voiceless ending which is present in standard speech.

37. [ʃ], as in **ship** [ʃɪp], **wish** [wɪʃ], **chip** [tʃɪp], **shawl** [ʃɔ:l], **bush** [bʊʃ], **mission** ['mɪʃn], ['mɪʃən], may be described as a voiceless, blade-dental point-alveolar frica-

tive. The blade of the tongue presses against the sides of the middle upper teeth, closing the openings there, the point almost touches the upper gums, the teeth are closed, and the breath issues along the channel between the tongue and the roof of the mouth through the openings between the upper front teeth. The channel through which the breath issues is broader than it is in pronouncing [s]. The sound is represented in a great variety of ways in conventional spelling, see § 327.

38. [ʒ], as in **pleasure** [ˈplɛʒəɹ], **decision** [dɪˈsɪʒn], **judge** [dʒʌdʒ], is the voiced equivalent of [ʃ]. It has no letter of its own in the conventional alphabet and is indicated in spelling in various ways, see §§ 328 ff.

39. [r] is produced by raising the body of the tongue so that the sides of it press against the upper teeth, tilting the point of the tongue so that it just barely touches the bony ridge of the gums, and allowing the breath to escape with a distinctly audible friction over the point of the tongue and between the teeth, which are slightly open. It may be described, therefore, as an alveolar **r**, with reference to the position of the tongue. The vocal chords are in vibration and the lips are slightly drawn back. The breath escapes with considerable force between the up-tilted point of the tongue and the alveoli, and it is here that the consonantal friction in [r] is produced, not as the air passes between the teeth. The tongue positions for [r] are somewhat similar to those for [ʃ], [ʒ], but in [r] the teeth are open, in [ʃ], [ʒ] the upper and lower teeth are generally in close contact.

40. This is the sound commonly heard in American speech for **r** initially, as in **red** [rɛd], between vowels, as

in **very** [ˈveri], and after consonants, as in **dress** [dres]. Before proceeding further with the consideration of various other kinds of **r**, the student is advised to observe extensively the occurrence of [r] in the three positions just mentioned in different words, and to study the sound itself so as to be able to distinguish the consonantal from the vocalic element in it. A voiceless **r**, which is merely frictional, should be compared with the voiced fricative [r], as for example the **tr** of **tread** pronounced separately without voicing as compared with **red**, **read** (preterite of the verb), pronounced [red] with voicing.

41. A trilled or rolled **r**, though not very common in American speech, is sometimes heard, especially for **r** between vowels, as in **very**, **hurry**, etc. It is commonly cultivated in stage pronunciation on the ground that it carries better than the fricative **r**. It is also cultivated by telephone operators in the pronunciation of **three**. It is formed by causing the point of the tongue to tap or vibrate against the gums, once or more, and in highly-developed forms of trilled **r**, a considerable number of times. This sound is so rare in American speech that it has not seemed necessary to provide a special symbol for it. It may be regarded as a variant form of [r].

42. [ɹ] is also a voiced sound, but the friction accompanying the vocalic element is so slight that one might hesitate to group it with the fricatives, or with the consonants at all. Its orthographic representation, however, is **r**, and it is commonly thought of as being a variety of this sound.

In pronouncing [ɹ] the point of the tongue is not tilted as high as in [r], but if it were permitted to touch the roof of the mouth, which it does not do, it would strike

the region just back of the upper teeth and in front of the place where the concavity of the roof of the mouth begins. It is commonly heard in American speech before consonants and finally, as in **part** [paɪt], **hard** [haɪd], **heard** [həɪd], **cord** [kəɪd], **fir**, **fur** [fəɪ], **demur** [di'məɪ], **car** [kaɪ], **dinner** ['dɪnəɪ], **color** ['kʌləɪ], **never** ['nevəɪ], etc. There is less friction in the pronunciation of [ɪ] than of [r], the space between the tongue and the roof of the mouth being greater, and some phoneticians do not recognize any consonantal value for orthographic **r** before consonants and finally. It is true that [ɪ] is regularly omitted by some speakers, especially in the East and South in America, when it is final or stands before another consonant, the difference between **taw** and **tore**, **pot** and **part**, so far as there is one with such speakers, being altogether a difference of vowel quality or length. In unstressed position, as in **never**, the word ends, in this manner of speech, with the vowel [ə], as in ['nevə]. A word like **part** consists, in this pronunciation, of only three elements, [p], [aɪ] and [t], giving [paɪt]. But in all regions of the United States, especially away from the Atlantic seaboard, an orthographic **r** commonly has phonetic value before consonants and when final. Whether one calls this sound which is heard a consonant or not is of little importance, provided the existence and quality of the sound itself are recognized. Its presence can be easily demonstrated by observing the tongue positions in pronouncing a word like **part**. This word, in American pronunciation which is not typically Eastern, contains four elements, the first and last being stop consonants, the second and third resulting from a shifting of the tongue from mid to high position accompanied by curving or tilting of the point. In **never**, when the word ends

only in a vowel, as in Eastern American pronunciation, the tongue position at the conclusion of the word is that of [ə], that is mid position, with the point of the tongue touching or on a level with the lower front teeth. With those, however, who are said to pronounce their **r**'s, the word ends with the tongue in high position and the tip of the tongue on a level with the roots of the upper teeth, giving ['nevəɹ]. The difference between [r] and [ɹ] may be tested by pronouncing the word **never** by itself, and then by letting it be followed by **rains**, as in **it never rains**. Of course if one has no final **r**, this would be simply [ɪt 'nevə reɪnz]. But if one pronounces final **r**'s, the final consonant of **never** cannot simply be carried over, like a long consonant (see § 83), to satisfy the demand for the initial consonant of **rains**. A slight modification in articulation is observable in pronouncing the two **r**'s, which is adequately represented, however it be named, by the two phonetic symbols [ɹ] and [r].

43. Some speakers, especially those of an unenergetic habit of enunciation, pronounce [ɹ] for [r] even in the stressed initial position, between vowels, and after consonants. The pronunciation of [r] for [ɹ], that is a strongly fricative consonant finally and before other consonants, as in ['nevər], [paɪr], etc., is current in localities, but is not general in standard American English.

44. Another variety of **r** is heard, especially in the North Central states and in the Middle West, which is produced by bending back the point of the tongue so far that if it actually came into contact with the roof of the mouth, it would strike about the middle of the hard-palate. This is often spoken of popularly as 'guttural **r**,' though it would be truer to the facts to call it a hard-



palate **r**, or simply, back **r**. Dialect story writers usually represent it by doubling the spelling, as in **corr<sup>n</sup>**, **farr<sup>m</sup>**, etc. The sound is often so marked in the regions in which it occurs as to constitute as distinct a dialect feature as the loss of [ɹ] before consonants and finally is for the Atlantic seaboard. Speakers who have this back [r] are often said to 'roll their **r**'s,' though as a matter of fact there is no more rolling or tapping of any of the organs of speech in pronouncing this **r** than there is in pronouncing the common [r], [ɹ]. It is, however, sometimes prolonged. Englishmen and Eastern Americans often find this sound offensive.<sup>1</sup>

45. *Lateral Continuants.* Lateral or side continuants are represented in standard English only by **l** [l], as in **land** [lænd], **million** ['mɪljən], **all** [ɔ:l]. In forming this sound the point of the tongue is placed against the roots of the upper teeth, and the blade against the gums, which means that the whole body of the tongue lies in high position; the sides of the tongue are free and the air issues through the narrow channels at the sides of the mouth between the tongue and the cheeks. Normally the breath issues through both sides of the mouth, but the sound may be produced with the channel open only on one side of the mouth. Some speakers curve back the point of the tongue in producing this sound, so that the point

<sup>1</sup> "She [one of the characters in a Mississippi Valley story who has returned home after having been 'cultured up' in the East] did not say 'charmed' like an alarm clock breaking out. She did not trundle his name [Orson Carver] like a wheelbarrow. Tudie rolled the 'r' on his eardrums as with a drumstick, and by contrast the sound came to him as: 'Misterr Carrverr comes from Harrvarrd. He calls it Havvad.'" — From "A as in Father," by Rupert Hughes, *In a Little Town*, p. 364.

presses against the front part of the hard-palate. It makes little difference in acoustic effect whether the breath issues through only one or through both sides of the mouth, but the curving back of the point of the tongue so that it presses against the hard-palate produces a variety of [l] which is not current in standard speech. This [l] is particularly noticeable when it is preceded by **i** or **e**, as in **hilly**, **sell** and similar words, the curving of the tongue for **l** affecting also the vowels and producing pronunciations somewhat like ['həli], [səl]. It is noticeable also in final unstressed syllables, as in **table**, **moral**, **feeble**, **people**, and it is this 'dark' or 'thick' l, as it may be described, which writers of the popular dialect sometimes indicate by a spelling like **peepul** for **people**. It is a sound to be avoided in cultivated speech.

46. The quality of [l] in standard speech is not quite the same when it stands in the neighborhood of a front sound, as in **lit** [lɪt], **ill** [ɪl], as when it stands in the neighborhood of a back sound, as in **law** [lə:], **all** [ɔ:l]. The consonant takes color to some extent from its vocalic surrounding, and one may speak of a front and a back [l]. The difference is not so important, however, as to call for separate symbols for the two qualities. The sound is usually voiced, though it may sometimes be voiceless when it follows a voiceless consonant in an unstressed position, as in **hospital** ['həspɪtl], ['hɒspɪtl].

47. Because of its vocalic character, [l] sometimes constitutes a syllable without any accompanying vowel, as in **middle** ['mɪdl], **table** ['te:bl], **battle** ['bætl], **special** ['speʃl], not ['mɪdəl], ['te:bəl], ['bætəl], ['speʃəl], except in a very formal pronunciation.

**48. Nasal Continuants.** The nasal continuants are [m], [n], [ŋ], as exemplified respectively in **may**, **no**, **song** and **sing**. In [m] the lips are closed, the tongue is quiescent, the velum lowered, and the vocal chords in vibration, producing a bilabial nasal voiced continuant. In [n] the stoppage in the oral passage is made by the point of the tongue pressing against the upper gums, as in [d], the velum is lowered, allowing the air to pass through the nose, and the vocal chords vibrate, producing a point alveolar nasal voiced continuant. In [ŋ], as in **song** [sɔŋ], the back of the tongue presses against the forward part of the soft-palate, forming a back soft-palate voiced nasal continuant. In **sing** [sɪŋ] the front of the tongue presses against the hard-palate, forming a front hard-palate voiced nasal continuant. The grades of [ŋ] correspond in formation to [g], with the addition of nasalization, and as in the case of [g], [k], [h], only one symbol, [ŋ], will be used for all shades of this sound.

**49. Compound Consonants.** The initial and final consonants in **church**, **judge**, call for no special symbols, since **ch** is a combination of [tʃ], and may therefore be written [tʃ], and **j**, **dg**, is a combination of [dʒ], therefore written [dʒ]. It should be observed that **th** of the ordinary spelling does not stand for a double consonant, but for a sound which is as single as the sound of [s] or [f] or [z], and is therefore represented by a simple symbol, [θ] or [ð]. See § 8.

**50. Vowels.** In analyzing the vowels, one must consider (1) the vertical position of the tongue, whether high, mid, or low; (2) the region of the tongue which is most elevated in producing the several vowels, whether the

back, the front, a region between the back and front, the blade, or point, though the point is rarely of significance in vowel formation; (3) the degree of tenseness of the tongue, whether tense (flexed), or slack (relaxed); (4) the presence or lack of rounding of the lips. The tongue may lie also in altogether neutral position, with no part particularly active, in which case it is said to be flat. In describing the vowels it will be clearest to start with the high front vowels as the ones whose method of formation is most easily observed. It is easy to analyze the vowels at the extremes, like [i:] in **see** [si:], which is the highest and farthest front of all vowels, or [ɔ:] in **saw** [sɔ:], which is the lowest and farthest back of all English vowels. As one approaches the mid and front positions of the tongue, however, the analysis becomes increasingly difficult, and vowels like [e] in **set** [set], [ɛ:] in **there** [ðɛɪ], [ʌ] in **hut** [hʌt], [ʌ:] in **hurt** [hʌ:t], with the **r** silent, [æ] in **hat** [hæt], [a:] in **fast** [fa:st], [ɑ] in **hot** [hʌt] differ from each other very slightly both in acoustic effect and in organic method of formation. Even slight variations, however, are often sufficient to draw attention to differing manners of pronunciation.

51. [i]. *High blade tense wide.* The body of the tongue is raised as high as it can be in the production of any English vowel sound. The blade and front are pressed up close to the hard-palate, the muscles of the tongue and the cheeks are tense or flexed, and the sides of the mouth are drawn back, making the lips wide. The point of the tongue rests against the backs of the lower teeth, as it does in almost all English vowel sounds. The mouth is open and the teeth apart about the space of the thickness of the tip of the little finger. This vowel may be

short or half-long, as in **completely** [kəm'pli·tlɪ], **deify** ['di·ɪ'faɪ], **beatific** ['biə'tɪfɪk], **seasonable** ['si·zənəbl], or long, as in **seed** [si:d], **see**, **sea** [si:], **deceive** [di'si:v], **seethe** [si:ð]. There is no difference in quality between [i] and [i:], though when final, [i:] may become somewhat diphthongal, see § 76.

52. [ɪ]. *High blade slack neutral.* This vowel is formed exactly like [i], except that the muscles of the tongue and cheek are relaxed, and the lips are allowed to fall into neutral position. It is always a short vowel, and examples of it are found in **sit** [sɪt], **city** ['sɪtɪ], **finish** ['fɪnɪʃ], **cylinder** ['sɪləndəɹ]. When the tongue is relaxed in [ɪ], it becomes slightly lower than it is in pronouncing [i].

In the two syllables of a word like **city**, the vowel is represented by the same symbol, though as a matter of fact, [ɪ] in unstressed position is slightly lower than [ɪ] in the stressed position. Separate symbols might be used to indicate this, or one may speak descriptively of [ɪ] in unstressed syllables as being more open or lower than [i] in stressed syllables. It is the open [ɪ] which is frequently heard in unstressed initial and final syllables, as in **decide** [di'saɪd], **begin** [bi'gɪn], **added** ['ædɪd], **basket** ['bæskɪt].

The vowel [ɪ] also appears as the second element in diphthongs, see §§ 71, 72, 75.

53. [e]. *Mid front tense wide.* The whole body of the tongue falls a little into mid position in passing from the two preceding sounds to this sound. The point of the tongue touches the bases of the lower teeth, but the front is arched so that it touches the sides of the upper teeth. The tongue and cheek muscles are flexed, and the lips are wide, though not so wide as in [i:]. The jaw drops a little from the position for [i], so that the distance between the



teeth is about the thickness of the index finger. This vowel may be short or half-long, as in **vacation** [ve-'keʃən], **patriot** ['pe-triət], **fatally** ['fe-təli], **complacent** [kəm'ple-sənt], or long, as in **raid** [reɪd], **fade** [feɪd], **place** [pleɪs]. There is not usually any difference of quality between [e] and [eɪ], though the latter tends to become diphthongal when final or before voiced consonants and under full stress, see §§ 71, 207.

**54. [e].** *Mid front slack neutral.* This sound occupies the same position relative to [e] that [ɪ] does to [i]. It is always a short vowel in English, as in **set** [set], **said** [sed], **medicine** ['medɪsm], **debt** [det], **perish** ['perɪʃ], **ferry** ['ferɪ], **guess** [ges], **led, lead (noun)** [led], **dense** [dens], **trench** [trentʃ].

**55. [eɪ].** *Mid half-front slack neutral.* This is a long vowel which occurs only before **r** in stressed syllables, and is represented in spelling by **e, ei, ea, a, ai**, as in **there, their** [ðeɪ], **pare, pair, pear** [peɪ], **fair, fare** [feɪ], **lair** [leɪ], **tear (verb), tare** [teɪ], **fairy** ['feɪri], **Mary** ['meɪri], **chary** ['tʃeɪri], **wary** ['weɪri]. The vowel is really slightly lower than [e] and is formed slightly farther back, that is, it is a half-front vowel, but it is represented here by the same symbol, with the mark of length added, to avoid increasing the number of symbols. As [e] is never long, and [eɪ] occurs only in the position before **r** in stressed syllables, no confusion between the two sounds is likely to occur. Instead of [ðeɪ], [peɪ], etc., those speakers who do not pronounce their final **r**'s have [ðeɪə], [peɪə], etc.

**56. [æ].** *Low front slack wide,* as in **hat** [hæt], **has** [hæz], **fashion** ['fæʃn], **laggard** ['læɡərd], and very common

in American pronunciation in words like **path** [pæθ], **fast** [fæst], **dance** [dæns], etc., see §§ 124-130. In words of this latter type, the vowel sometimes becomes long, but ordinarily in standard pronunciation it is short. The tongue is in slightly lower position than it is for [ɛ:], but is not as low as it can be made to be. To be more exact, one might describe its position as low-mid. The point of the tongue rests against the lower gums, but the front is raised and is felt lightly touching the lower edges of the upper teeth. The muscles of the tongue are relaxed, but the sides of the mouth are slightly drawn back, producing a very slightly wide lip formation. The mouth is open wide enough to enable one to insert the tips of the little and ring fingers.

57. [ɑ]. *Low half-back slack neutral*, as in **father** ['faiðə], **palm** [pɑ:m], and, in the pronunciation of some Americans, **fast** [fa:st], **dance** [da:nts], [da:ns], **calf** [ka:f], etc. In these words the vowel is long, but the short vowel, with a difference only in quantity from the long, is commonly heard in America in words of the type of **hot** [hat], **not** [nat], **pod** [pad], **stop** [stap], etc. The tongue is low in the mouth, though not quite so low as in [ɑ:], and the tip touches the lower gums. The part of the tongue which is raised is back, but not so far back as in sounds like [o], [ɔ], [ɑ:], with which [ɑ] should be compared. It lies between the back and front surfaces of the tongue, but a little closer to back than to front and is therefore described as half-back. The tongue muscles are relaxed, and the lips are at rest or neutral. The space between the teeth is sufficiently wide to enable one to insert the index and middle fingers. The teeth are farther apart and the mouth more open in pronouncing

this vowel than they are in uttering any other English vowel.

58. [a]. *Low half-front slack slightly wide.* This sound is widely current, especially in artificial speech in America, as a compromise vowel between [aɪ] and [æ] in words of the type of **fast**, **calf**, **dance**, **grass**, etc., which are pronounced as [faɪst], [kaɪf], [daɪnts], [daɪns], [graɪs], or [fæst], [kæf], [dænts], [dæns], [græs], or [faɪst], [kaɪf], [daɪnts], [daɪns], [graɪs], etc. In these and similar words the vowel is commonly long. As a short vowel the sound occurs only as the first element in the diphthong [aɪ], see §§ 72, 209. The tongue position is the same as for [a], except that the part which is elevated is slightly more forward than for [a]; it is not a front sound, but is nearer to front than back position and is therefore described as half-front. The lips are slightly retracted or widened, and with some speakers, especially those who use the sound consciously, the muscles of the tongue and cheek are likely to be somewhat tense. The sound has acquired unusual importance in the discussion of American usage because it is so often cultivated as an artificial refinement in certain words which in natural, unconscious use have [aɪ] or [æ].

59. [u]. *High back tense rounded*, as in **mood** [muɪd], **tube** [tjuɪb], **juice** [dʒuɪs], where it is long, or **musician** [mjuˈzɪʃn], **ludicrous** [ˈludɪkrəs], where it is short or half-long. There is no difference in quality between the long and the short vowel, though the long vowel sometimes tends to become diphthongal, see § 76. The tongue is raised high, with the back part of it touching the soft-palate. From the back forward the tongue slopes down until the point touches the lower gums. The muscles of

the tongue are moderately tense. The lips are protruded and distinctly pouted or rounded. The teeth are about as far apart as they are for [i], perhaps a little farther.

60. [ʊ]. *High back slack rounded*, as in **bush** [buʃ], **full** [fʊl], **book** [buk], **good** [ɡʊd]. The positions of the vocal organs are the same as for [u] except that the muscles are relaxed and the vowel is therefore slightly lower. It is normally only a short vowel, though some speakers might pronounce it long before [ɹ], in words like **poor**, **moor**, **lure**, etc.

61. [o]. *Mid back tense rounded*, as in **notable** [ˈnoʊ-təbl̩], **notation** [noʊ-teɪʃən], **devotional** [diˈvoʊ-ʃən], where it is short or half-long, or **note** [noʊt], **spoke** [spoʊk], **rode**, **road** [roʊd], where it is long. There is commonly little difference in quality between [o] and [o:] in American speech, though [oɪ] tends to become diphthongal under certain conditions, see § 74. The tongue is in mid position in producing this vowel, the back elevated towards the soft-palate, the forward surface sloping down until the point touches the lower gums. The muscles of the tongue are moderately tense, and the lips are rounded slightly less than for [u]. This sound should be compared with [ʌ], [ʌɪ].

62. [ə]. *Mid back slack rounded*, as in **authority** [əˈθɔːrɪti], **long** [lən], **song** [sən], and in many words in which usage varies between [ə] and [ɑ], as in **positive** [ˈpɔːzɪtɪv] or [ˈpɑːzɪtɪv], **hot** [hət] or [hɑt], **dog** [dɔg] or [dɑg], etc. It is normally a short vowel in standard pronunciation, and its method of formation is the same as that of [o] except that the sound is slack, therefore slightly lower than [o]. The lips are also slightly less rounded.

**63.** [ɔɪ]. *Low back tense rounded*, as in **law** [ləɪ], **awe** [əɪ], **thought** [θɔɪt], **caught** [kɔɪt]. The tongue is in the lowest possible position, the extreme back of it is elevated towards the soft-palate, the point touches the floor of the mouth beneath the lower gums, and the muscles of the tongue are somewhat tense. The lips are rounded, and the teeth far enough apart to enable one to insert the thickness of the thumb between them. This vowel is normally only a long vowel and occurs only in stressed syllables. In dialect pronunciation it appears in some words which in standard speech have [ɔ] or [ɑ], as in **dog** [dɔɪg], **God** [gɔɪd], **long** [lɔɪŋ], **frost** [frɔɪst], see § 111.

Though the same symbol is used for [ɔ] and [ɔɪ], the organic difference between the two vowels should not be overlooked. The vowel [ɔ] is not merely a shortened [ɔɪ], but acoustically and organically it is a recognizably different vowel. As the difference in quantity implies also this difference in quality, it has not seemed necessary to provide [ɔɪ] with a separate symbol.

**64.** [ʌ]. *Mid half-back slack slightly wide*, as in **cut** [kʌt], **up** [ʌp], **butter** ['bʌtəʃ], **hurry** ['hʌrɪ], **son**, **sun** [sʌn], **some** [sʌm]. This sound should be compared with [ɔ] the tongue positions for which are the same, except that in [ʌ] the part of the tongue elevated lies a little in front of back position, best described as half-back. The lips also instead of being rounded are slightly wide. Compare this sound likewise with [ɛɪ]. The vowel [ʌ] is normally only a short vowel.

**65.** [ʌɪ]. *Mid half-back tense slightly wide*. This vowel occurs only as a long vowel, and only before **r** followed by a consonant, or before **r** final, according to the ordinary spelling, in the speech of those persons who pronounce



no **r** in these combinations. Examples would be: **curse** [kʌɪs], **hurt** [hʌɪt], **fur**, **fir** [fʌɪ], **church** [tʃʌɪtʃ], **dirt** [dʌɪt], **person** [ˈpɛɪsən]. The sound should be clearly distinguished from [ʌ]. It is much more tense than [ʌ], therefore appreciably higher and more front, and the lips are slightly more retracted. The point of the tongue touches the lower teeth. The mouth is open, as in [ʌ], sufficiently wide to enable one to insert the ring finger between the teeth. The sound should also be distinguished from [ə] and [ə], both of which, besides being different in quality, are always short.

66. [ə]. *Mid flat slack neutral*. This is the so-called obscure vowel, which appears only as a short sound in unstressed syllables, as in **about** [əˈbaʊt], **nation** [ˈneɪʃən], **national** [ˈnæʃənəl]. The method of formation of this sound is very similar to that of [ɑ], the main difference being that in [ɑ] the tongue is in low position, in [ə] it is in mid or perhaps low-mid position. The tongue lies almost level in the mouth in pronouncing [ə], the point touches the lower teeth, the muscles are very slack, as they naturally would be in an unstressed syllable, and the lips are at rest in neutral position. The positions of the organs of speech are very much as they are in normal breathing. Vowels which ordinarily have distinct values when they stand in stressed position may all of them become this vowel in the unstressed position (see § 94), especially in popular speech, as in the popular pronunciations **fellow** [ˈfelə], **yellow** [ˈjelə], **piano** [prɪˈænə] for standard [ˈfelə], [ˈjelə], [prɪˈæno].

67. [ə]. *Mid inverted tense neutral*. This vowel occurs normally only as a short sound, before **r** [ɹ] followed by a consonant or before **r** [ɹ] final, in the speech of those

Americans who sound this [ɹ]. It is considerably tenser than [ə], therefore slightly higher and the middle parts of the tongue are somewhat more elevated. But the most characteristic quality of this vowel is due to the fact that the point of the tongue is lifted up and slightly inverted so that it is directed towards the roof of the mouth. In other words, the tongue position for [ɹ] is practically taken even while the vowel is being pronounced. This is the only vowel in English in the formation of which the point of the tongue rises above the level of the lower teeth, and the only one in which the tongue is hollowed or curved up. For this reason it is called an inverted vowel. The lips are neutral, and the teeth, as in [ə], are open wide enough to enable one to insert the ring finger. Examples of the occurrence of this sound are found in words like **clerk** [klɜrk], **mercy** ['mɜ:ɹɪ], **pert** [pɜrt], **dirt** [dɜrt], **shirt** [ʃɜrt], **hurt** [hɜrt], **spurt** [spɜrt], **dearth** [dɜrθ], **worth** [wɜrθ], **fur**, **fir** [fɜr], **her** [hɜr], **sir** [sɜr], **murmur** ['mɜ:mɜr], **infer** [ɪn'fɜr], **purr** [pɜr], **slur** [slɜr], **stir** [stɜr].

68. In unstressed final syllables, the r [ɹ] may be syllabic or may be preceded by [ə] as in **winter** ['wɪntɹ] or ['wɪntɜr], **supper** ['sʌpɹ] or ['sʌpɜr], **stronger** ['strɒŋgɹ] or ['strɒŋgɜr]. The second of these would be rather marked formal pronunciations.

69. In segregating this sound from surrounding sounds in words, the student is advised to begin with the simplest possible combination, as in **err** [ɜr]. The double spelling **rr** in this word signifies nothing, as the word has phonetically only one consonant. The vowel preceding the consonant should be distinguished first from the vowel of a word like **ere** [eɪ], which has the same vowel as **there**, **pair**, **bear**, etc. Those speakers who do not sound [ɹ] in

**err** have only a simple vowel in this word, commonly the vowel [ʌ]. Those speakers who do pronounce the final consonant have a short [ə] followed by the slight frictional **r** which is designated by [ɹ]. It may be helpful to practice pronouncing **err** with an alveolar **r** [r], or a trilled or back **r**, proceeding then to the slighter consonantal sound in [ər]. In passing from [ə] to [ɹ] the only change in the organs of speech is the increased raising or tilting of the point of the tongue which brings it into a position close to the roots of the upper teeth and which causes the slight frictional element in [ɹ]. Next one may proceed to the analysis of complexer groups of sounds, like **fir**, **fur** [fəɹ], **person** [ˈpɛɹsən], **heard** [hɛɹd], **dirt** [dɛɹt], **hurt** [hɛɹt], which should be clearly distinguished both from [fər], [ˈpɛrsən], [hɛrd], [dɛrt], [hɛrt], and from [fʌɹ], [ˈpɛɹsən], [hʌɹd], [dʌɹt], [hʌɹt]. The organic differences between [ʌ], [ʌɹ], [ə], [ə] are at first not easy to analyze, but the acoustic distinctions intended by the several symbols are apparent to a sensitive ear and often constitute quite noticeable differences in pronunciation.

**70. Diphthongs.** A diphthong is a vowel combination which starts with one tongue position and glides to another before the sound closes. There is no articulatory break between the two elements of a diphthong, as there is, for example, when the first two vowels of a word like **pre-eminent** [priˈɛmənənt] are pronounced. A typical diphthong would be the vowel of **ride** [raid]. Diphthongs are sometimes written in the conventional spelling with two letters, as in **house** [haʊs], **boil** [bɔɪl], but sometimes also they are written with a single vowel.

In general long vowels tend to become diphthongal. Some of the long vowels, however, as [aɪ], [eɪ], are very

rarely diphthongal. The vowel [ɔɪ] sometimes becomes [ɔə], the glide [ə] being caused by the instinctive raising of the tongue from the very low position of [ɔɪ] to the more normal mid position of [ə]. With inversion of the point of the tongue, this [ə] becomes [ɪ], see § 305. The commonest diphthongs in American English are [eɪ], [aɪ], [aʊ], [oʊ], [ɔɪ].

71. [eɪ]. This diphthong may be described as a diphthongal variant of [eɪ]. In a word like **fate** [fɛt], there is generally no diphthongal quality present in the American pronunciation of the vowel. It is a simple long vowel. When fully stressed before voiced consonants and at the end of stressed syllables, however, it tends to become more or less markedly diphthongal, as in **fade** [fɛɪd], **pay** [peɪ], **strayed** [streɪd] as compared with **straight** [streɪt].

72. [aɪ]. This is the common sound of words like **ride** [raɪd], **tie** [taɪ], **sigh** [saɪ], **sight**, **site**, **cite** [saɪt], **buy**, **by** [baɪ].

73. [aʊ]. An obvious diphthong, which appears in words like **house** [haʊs], **cow** [kaʊ], **trowel** ['traʊəl], **frown** [fraʊn].

74. [oʊ]. Like [eɪ], this sound may be described as the diphthongal quality of a long vowel, in this case [oɪ]. In words like **note** [noʊt], **boat** [boʊt], where the vowel stands before a voiceless consonant, it commonly has no diphthongal value. Before voiced consonants and finally, it tends to become more or less markedly diphthongal, as in **rose** [rouz], **bowl** [boʊl], **road**, **rode** [roud], **tow**, **toe** [toʊ], **no**, **know** [noʊ], **though** [ðoʊ]. But see §§ 218-220.

75. [ɔɪ]. This is the clear diphthong of words like **boil** [bɔɪl], **boy** [bɔɪ], **void** [vɔɪd], **annoy** [ə'nɔɪ], **coign**, **coin** [kɔɪn]. With this last example compare **coincidence** [ko'ɪnsɪdəns], where **oi** is of course not diphthongal.

76. The vowels [i] and [u] are rarely diphthongal, even when fully stressed and long. When [i] becomes diphthongal, it starts on [ɪ] and closes with [i], as in **sea** [si]. Ordinarily, however, American speakers would pronounce the vowel in this and similar words merely as [i:], making no qualitative but only a quantitative difference between the vowel of **see**, **sea** and the first vowel of **seasonable** ['sɪzənəbl]. In the same way the vowel of **two**, **too** may be pronounced as a diphthong, composed first of a slack followed by a tense element, that is [tʊu], but it is more likely to be heard merely as [u:]. The difference between the vowel of **tooth** [tu:θ] and the first vowel of **toothsomeness** ['tuθsəm'nɪs] is only one of quantity.

77. The diphthongal character of a prolonged [i] and a prolonged [u] may best be observed when these words are under an exceptionally heavy stress. For example, in **I didn't say key, I said tea**, the antithesis calls for a phonetic representation as follows: [aɪ dɪdnt se 'kɪi:, aɪ sɛd 'tɪi:]. So also the vowel of **true** is likely to be noticeably diphthongal in the following phrase, **It may be interesting, but is it true?** [ɪt meɪ bi 'ɪntərɪstɪŋ, bət ɪz ɪt 'tru:ɪ?]. The words **say** and **may** in the above sentences are only slightly stressed and the vowel is short or half-long, not diphthongal.

78. [ju]. The so-called 'long u' of words like **mute** [mjut] is not, strictly speaking, diphthongal, since the sound which precedes [u] is consonantal and not vocalic.



It should be observed, however, that [j] in English is never a strongly consonantal sound; the close relation between [i] and [j] has been pointed out above, see § 25. One may occasionally hear this sound pronounced as [iu], but in standard speech its form is [ju]. It is grouped here with the diphthongs merely for practical convenience.

79. The two elements of a diphthong are commonly not equal in stress or length, but one is more prominent than the other. In [eɪ], [oʊ], [aʊ], [ɔɪ] the first element is the more prominent, in [ɪi], [ʊu], [ju] it is the second, and in [aɪ] it is mainly the second, though with many speakers the two elements of this diphthong are about equal in stress and length.

80. *Quantity.* As the term is used in phonetics, the word quantity refers primarily to duration, not to the difference of quality in sounds. Sounds may be long or short, the long sound being indicated by the sign [ː] placed after it. When it is necessary to indicate a degree between long and short, that is a half-long, which implies of course that one is uncertain whether the sound is long or short and that it may be either, the sign [ˑ] is used. When not marked as long or half-long, sounds are to be considered short. It should be understood that the terms long and short are used not to designate absolute quantity, that a long sound is not always so many seconds or fractions of a second long. The vowel of **awe** [aɪ] is long, but so also is the vowel of **awful** [ˈɔːfəl], though not absolutely so long as the vowel of **awe**. The length of a vowel depends very much upon the number of syllables in the word containing it, the position of the word in context, and also upon the amount of stress the syllable con-

taining the vowel receives. Unstressed vowels are very seldom long. Moreover, all vowels are appreciably longer before voiced than before voiceless consonants; cf. **bead** [bi:d] and **beet**, **beat** [bi:t], **feed** [fi:d] and **feet**, **feat** [fi:t], **league** [li:g] and **leek**, **leak** [li:k], **peas** [pi:z] and **peace** [pi:s]; or compare **loaf** with **loaves**, **life** with **lives**, **half** with the verb **halve**, etc. In the following words the vowels are all short, but not equally short: **let** [let], **led** [led]; **debt** [det], **dead** [ded]; **hit** [hit], **hid** [hid]; **rot** [rat], **rod** [rad]; **hook** [huk], **hood** [hud], etc.

81. In a prolonged diphthong it is the first element of [eɪ], [oʊ], [aʊ], [ɔɪ] which is lengthened, the second element in [iɪ], [ʊʊ], [jʊ], and both in about equal proportions in [aɪ]. Examples of some of these prolonged diphthongs may be observed in a declamatory pronunciation of the first line of the *Star Spangled Banner*, **O say, can you see by the dawn's early light** ['o:ɪ 'se:ɪ, kæn ju 'sɪ: bæ ɔə 'dɔ:nz ɛərɪ 'laɪt]. Ordinarily, however, it is not necessary to indicate the length of the elements of a diphthong, except [ju].

82. Many speakers in America have a slow and unenergetic manner of enunciation, which results in a dragging or 'drawling' of the vowel sounds, so that normally short vowels become long and long vowels become over-long. Thus **hat** [hæt] becomes [hæ:t], **pitch** [pɪtʃ] becomes [pɪ:tʃ], **well** [wel] becomes [weɪl], etc., this last illustration being one of the conventional marks of Brother Jonathan's English on the stage and in fiction. This statement applies to diphthongs as well as simple vowels. The manner of speech is characteristic of provincial and rustic, not cultivated American English.

83. The distinction between long and short applies to consonants as well as vowels. Long consonants occur in English only when two consonants of the same kind come together in compound words or in close syntactical phrases with a main and secondary stress. Compare **pen-knife** ['peni:'aɪf] with **penny** ['penɪ], **mad dog** ['mædi:'ɒg] with **mattock** ['mætək], **lessee** ['lesɪ:'i] with **dressy** ['dresɪ]. In rapid pronunciation a word like **pen-knife** may have only a short consonant, just as the phrase **a good deal** may be [ə'gudɪ:'i:l] or [ə gʊ'di:l], though never [ə'gud 'di:l], except in artificial pronunciation. Note that long consonants are not double consonants, pronounced with two separate articulations. Spellings such as **occur**, **add**, **egg**, etc., are of course no indication that the consonants written **cc**, **dd**, **gg** are long. The consonant of **egg** [eg] is short, but in **egg-glass** ['eg:'læs] it is long. Stop consonants are made long by assuming the stop position and holding it for a moment before the explosion is allowed to occur. A long stop consonant cannot be called a double consonant because a double consonant would call for two distinct explosions. A long continuant is merely the ordinary continuant prolonged.

84. *Stress.* Syllables are stressed, unstressed, or secondarily stressed (half stressed). Unstressed syllables are not marked, but stress is indicated by the acute accent before the syllable affected, secondary or half stress, by the grave accent, as in **inkwell** ['ɪŋk'wel]. Stress like length is to be understood as a term of relative, not absolute significance. In a group of words like **A black bird is not necessarily a blackbird** [ə 'blæk 'bɜ:d ɪz nɒt nəse'serɪli ə 'blæk'bɜ:d], the third syllable of **necessarily** is marked as a stressed syllable, and it is stressed relative

to its surroundings, that is, it is the stressed syllable of its word, though not so strongly stressed as the second syllable or third of the phrase or either of the syllables of the last. And though the second and third words of the phrase are both stressed, they are not equally stressed, one or the other being made the more emphatic according as the logic of the phrase appeals to the speaker.

85. The stressing of syllables in words of two or more syllables is fixed with considerable exactness by convention, but the stressing of words in the word group varies with circumstances, logically emphatic words usually receiving relatively heavy stress. Sometimes the conventional stress of words is altered for the sake of emphasis, as when an antithesis is made prominent, e.g., **Thousands for defense, not a man for offense** ['θaʊzəndz fɔɪ 'di:fens, nɒt ə mæn fɔɪ 'ɒfens]; or in a very emphatic or exclamatory word, e.g., **delighted** ['di:l'aɪtɪd], **absolutely** [æbsə-'ljʊtli], **exactly** ['ɛg'zæktli], **exquisite** [eks'kwɪzɪt], etc. Sometimes in the word group, even a word logically very unimportant is stressed for emphasis, especially in colloquial style, e.g., "**What** did he say?" "**He** didn't have **anything** to say" ['wɒt dɪd hi 'seɪ? hi 'dɪdnt hæv 'eniθɪŋ 'tu 'seɪ].

86. The second element of compound words, so long as it bears a fairly clear logical content, carries a secondary stress, as in **book-shelf** ['bʊk-'ʃelf], **butter-knife** ['bʌtər-'naɪf], etc., but when the second element no longer has a separate logical value, it loses its stress, as in **husband** ['hʌzbənd], **cupboard** ['kʌbərd], etc. Sometimes the two elements of a compound are pronounced with practically equal or level stress, as in **beef-steak** ['bi:f-'steɪk], **ax-handle** ['æks-'hændl], **Broadway** ['brɔɪd-'weɪ], etc.,

but usually such words, when they appear in context, carry only a secondary stress on the second element, as in **beefsteak** and **potatoes** ['bi:ɪf-'steɪk n pə'tetɔ:z], unless a special need for emphasizing both logical elements in the compound is present.

87. Syllabic accent in words is fixed more or less exactly by convention, and especially in words of native origin, little variation in usage occurs. In some words of Latin origin, however, several ways of stressing the same word are current. In dissyllables compounded of a prefix plus a root, it is a fairly general rule that verbs stress the root, as in **perfume** [pə'fju:m], **refuse** [rɪ'fju:z], **proceed** [prə'si:d], **combine** [kəm'baɪn], **protest** [prə'test], **transfer** [træns'fɜ:], **absent** [æb'sent], **premise** [pri'maɪz], **annex** [æ'nɛks], **abstract** [æb'strækt], **address** [æ'dres], etc.; whereas substantives stress the prefix, ['pærfjum], ['refju:z], ['prə:sɪdz], ['kəmbaɪn], ['prə'test], ['trænsfɜ:], ['æbsent], ['premɪs], spelled **premise** or **premiss**, ['ænɛks], ['æbstrækt], ['ædres], etc. But the rule is not infallible, and some noun compounds of this type are stressed sometimes on the first and sometimes on the second syllable, e.g., **address**, **annex**, **ally**, **allies**, **alloy**, **access**, **excess**, **recess** (but only **success** [sək'ses]). Academic authority sometimes prescribes a single pronunciation, e.g., [æ'laɪ], [æ'laɪz] for **ally**, **allies**, or [rɪ'ses] for **recess**, in spite of the fact of divided practice in usage.

88. In **cement** a distinction was formerly made between the noun ['semənt] and the verb [sr'ment], but now both noun and verb are stressed on the second syllable. The word is not etymologically a compound but seems to have been assimilated in feeling to verb compounds.



89. Sometimes stress determines meaning, as in **accent** ['æksent], 'to stress or emphasize in speech,' but [æk'sent], 'to emphasize particularly a thought or distinction.' The stressing of certain words also may change with their syntactical position. Thus **abject**, **adult**, **adverse**, **excess**, **occult**, and a great many other compounds of like kind used as adjectives, for which the dictionaries usually record only one form, with stress on the second syllable, may be stressed according to rule when the adjective stands in absolute position, e.g., **He was most abject** [æb'dʒekt] **in his behavior**, but when the adjective stands in regular adjective position before the modified word, the stress is likely to shift to the first syllable, e.g., **The most abject** [æbdʒekt] **creature I ever saw**. Compare the phrase **a complex argument** [ə 'kəmpleks 'ɑ:gjumənt] with **his argument was very complex** [hɪz 'ɑ:gjumənt wəz 'veri kəm'pleks], or **occult sciences** ['akəlt 'saɪənsɪz] with **in the regions of the occult** [ɪn ðə 'rɪdʒənz əv ðɪ ə'kəlt]. In instances of this sort, accent seems to be determined by the rhythm of the phrase, and rhythm undoubtedly plays a large part in all variabilities of stressing in English. The statement of these rhythmical rules would be very complex, and the dictionaries, being under the necessity of speaking briefly and dogmatically, do not give a faithful or detailed picture of usage in these respects. Those speakers who follow the dictionary rules as to stressing are frequently compelled to substitute a mechanical rule in place of a natural practice. It is impossible to formulate any simple practical rules of certain guidance in the stressing of these variable dissyllables and polysyllables in English, since the words do not fall into clearly maintained categories. Under the circumstances, the most economical and practical method is to learn the

stressing of such words by observing and following usage.

90. The word **program**, **programme**, is pronounced [ˈproˈgræm], though a popular pronunciation [ˈprogrəm] is also heard and seems to be growing in use. In **acorn** standard American pronunciation is [ˈeɪˈkɔrn], but in some regions of the South and West an earlier pronunciation [ˈeɪkɔrn] survives in local use. For **frontier** the usual American pronunciation is [frənˈtɪəri], but in England [ˈfrantiəri]. For **quinine** a number of pronunciations occur (see § 213), the most common being [ˈkwaiˈnaɪn].

91. In words of three syllables an uncertainty in usage with respect to the stressing of the first or second syllable affects a number of words, of which a few typical examples may be cited. Words ending in **-ate** are commonly stressed on the first syllable, as in **acclimate**, **compensate**, **concentrate**, **confiscate**, **contemplate**, **demonstrate**, **illustrate**, though some speakers cultivate a pronunciation with stress on the second syllable.<sup>1</sup> For **remonstrate**, however, the stress is more commonly on the second syllable. The word **consummate** as a verb is stressed on the first syllable, as an adjective on the second.

92. Other instances of trisyllabic words in which usage is unsettled are **albumen**, **armistice**, **aspirant**, **combatant**, **combative**, **opponent**, **vagary**, the prevailing usage having stress on the first syllable of all these words except the last two. For **deficit** only a pronunciation with stress on the first syllable is current in America, but [dɪˈfɪsɪt] is general in England. For **envelope** (*noun*) the pronunciation is often [ɛnˈvɛləp], but more commonly

<sup>1</sup> See New English Dictionary, under **contemplate**.

[ˈɛnvəˈloːp] or [ˈʌnvəˈloːp], [ˈɒnvəˈloːp]. For **eczema** the professional and formal pronunciation is [ˈɛkzɪmə] or [ˈɛksɪmə], but popularly the word is often pronounced [ɛkˈzɪmə]. The word **plebiscite** is a somewhat learned word with no definitely fixed popular pronunciation. It is most commonly pronounced [ˈplebrɪˈsaɪt], [ˈplebrɪt], and less frequently [plɛˈbrɪt]. For **gondola**, a somewhat learned word, the conventional pronunciation is [ˈɡandələ], but in popular speech often [ɡənˈdɒlə]. For **vehement** the standard pronunciation is [ˈviəmənt], but [vrɪˈhiːmənt] is heard in popular speech. For **inquiry** a pronunciation with stress on the first syllable is sometimes heard, but the common standard pronunciation is [ɪnˈkwairɪ]. For **idea** the standard pronunciation is [aɪˈdiə], but one frequently hears, especially in the South, [ˈaɪdiə]. A pronunciation [ˈaɪˈdiː], with both syllables about equally stressed, is popular and illiterate.

93. Under the head of words of three syllables may be considered words ending in **-able**, since the **l** in this ending is very lightly syllabic. The general tendency is to stress these words on the first syllable, unless the influence of another form, like **deny**, **rely**, **comply**, preserves the stress on the second syllable, as in **deniable** [dɪˈnaɪəbl], **reliable** [rɪˈlaɪəbl], **compliable** [kəmˈplaɪəbl]. But **referable**, **preferable** are always [ˈrɛfərəbl], [ˈprɛfərəbl], in spite of **refer**, **prefer**, [rɪˈfɛə], [prɪˈfɛə]. In **applicable**, **despicable**, **disreputable**, **formidable**, **hospitable**, the stress is commonly on the first syllable, but not infrequently the second syllable is stressed by cultivated speakers. In **admirable**, **dissoluble**, **lamentable**, **refutable**, **revocable**, the stress is very rarely on the second, though this pronunciation for **admirable** is frequent in popu-

lar English, and may sometimes be heard in the other words, perhaps through the influence of head forms like **dissolve** [di'zɒlv], **lament** [lə'ment], **refute** [ri'fju:t], **revoke** [ri'vɒk].

94. An instance of unexpected stress in a trisyllabic word is **Willamette** [wi'læmət], town and river in Oregon.

95. In words of four syllables the question is again one of stressing either the first or the second syllable, though when the first syllable is stressed, there is usually more or less secondary stress on the third. Thus for **contemplative** the most general pronunciation is [kən'templtɪv], but also ['kʌntəm'ple-tɪv]; for **aristocrat** both [ə'ristakræt] and ['æristə'kræt]; for **fragmentary** the general pronunciation ['frægmən'təri], but sometimes [fræg'mentəri]. For **difficulty** the only current pronunciation in America is ['dɪfɪkəltɪ]. For **diocesan** the analogy of **diocese** ['daɪəsɪs] sometimes produces a pronunciation ['daɪə'sɪsən] for standard [daɪ'əsɪsən]. But the word is learned and has no general currency.

96. For **advertisement** both [æd'vɜ:təɪzmənt] and [æd'vɜ:tɪzmənt] are in current use; for **obligatory** both [ə'bliɡə'təri] and ['ɒbliɡə'təri]; for **peremptory** both ['perəm'təri] and [pər'emptəri]. The standard pronunciation of **municipal** is [mju'nɪsəpl], but a popular form ['mjʊnə'sɪpl] is sometimes heard. For **capillary** both ['kæpə'leri] and [kə'pɪləri] are current, the former being the more general. For **celibacy** the current pronunciation in America is ['seləbɪsɪ], but in England both ['seləbɪsɪ] and [sə'libəsi] are in standard use.

97. In general, American speech makes a much greater use of secondary stress in polysyllables than British

speech. Words like **declamatory**, **dignitary**, **derogatory**, **dysentery**, **extraordinary**, **sedentary**, **temporary**, many place names, such as **Birmingham**, **Bradbury**, etc., commonly receive in England only one stress, [dɪ'klæmɪtrɪ], [ˈdɪɡnɪtrɪ], [dɪ'rɒɡətɪrɪ], [ˈdɪsəntrɪ], [ɪk'strɔɪdnɪrɪ], [ˈsedəntrɪ], [ˈtɛmprərɪ], [ˈbɑːmɪŋəm], [ˈbrædbɪrɪ]; but in America such words almost universally bear a strong secondary stress besides the main stress, as in [dɪ'klæmə'tɔrɪ], [ˈdɪɡnə'tɛrɪ], [dɪ'rɒɡə'tɔrɪ], [ˈdɪsən'tɛrɪ], [ɪk'strɔɪdɪ'nɛrɪ], [ˈsedən'tɛrɪ], [ˈtɛmpə'rɛrɪ], [ˈbæmɪŋ'hæm], [ˈbræd'bɛrɪ].

98. In some words, however, secondary stress, though heard in popular speech, has been discarded in cultivated pronunciation, e.g., **interest**, **interesting**, [ˈɪntərɪst], [ˈɪntərɪstɪŋ], popularly pronounced [ˈɪntər'est], [ˈɪntər'estɪŋ] or [ˈɪntər'estɪŋ]; **cemetery** [ˈsɛmɪtrɪ], popularly [ˈsɛmə'tɛrɪ]; **favorite** [ˈfeɪvɪt], **genuine** [ˈdʒɛnjum], popularly [ˈfeɪvə'reɪt], [ˈdʒɛnju'am].

99. *Vowels in Unstressed Syllables.* The general tendency of vowels in unstressed syllables, especially in informal colloquial speech, is to weaken and to become the vowel [ə], or in certain endings, [ɪ], see §§ 146, 173. Sometimes, however, in more formal speech, a vowel is used in unstressed syllables which has not the full and clear value which one ordinarily gives to the vowel in stressed position, nor yet the weakened sound of [ə] or [ɪ], but a sound intermediate between the two. Thus the word **oblige** in informal speech would be [ə'blaɪdʒ], and in very formal speech, a kind of spelling-pronunciation, it might be [o'blaɪdʒ]. But the initial vowel is more likely to be a compromise between [ə] and [o], and if it is desirable to indicate this orthographically, it is suggested that this be done by placing two dots over the [o], giving



[ö'blaidʒ]. The same device can be applied to the other vowels. Thus the word **violet** may be transcribed as normally [ˈvaɪələɪt], but formally as [ˈvaɪölət]; **attack** as normally [əˈtæk], but formally [æˈtæk]; **fashion** as normally [ˈfæʃn] or [ˈfæʃən], but formally [ˈfæʃən]. It has not been deemed necessary to indicate these distinctions in the transcriptions of the present volume.

100. *Sound groups.* The division of speech into detached words, as in conventional printing and writing, does not usually correspond to the actual sound groupings of the language as spoken. In the phrase **Life like a dome of many colored glass** [ˈlaɪf laɪkə'doʊm əv'menɪ-'kʌləɪd'glæs], there are only three sound groups, the last being as much a single sound group as the word **incomprehensibility** [ɪn'kæmpri'hensɪ'bɪlɪtɪ]. In phonetic transcriptions, however, it seems more convenient to follow the traditional division into words, except when for special reasons it is advisable to indicate the real phonetic groupings.

101. In some few words like **don't**, **hasn't**, **isn't**, **won't**, this fusing of words into sound groups is represented in the conventional spelling, and writers of dialect stories often indicate them by spelling, as in "I gotta go" for "I've got to go." But what is thus made a humorous dialect characteristic is humorous only because of the unconventional spelling. All current colloquial speech in some degree makes such combinations and 'telescoping' of words which are syntactically closely related, e.g., **I used to think** [aɪ ˈjuːstə θɪŋk]; **Don't you want to come?** [ˈdoʊntʃu ˈwəntə kʌm?]; **It wasn't your turn** [ˈtwəzən'tʃʊr ˈtɜːn]; **Did you get it?** [dɪdʒə ˈget ɪt?] or [dʒə ˈget ɪt?].

102. *Pitch.* It is impossible to indicate by any simple mechanical means which are adequate the rising and falling intonations of the voice in speech. Three degrees of pitch are readily observable, which may be designated as high, level and low, and one may construct intonation curves which will correspond to these more obvious changes of pitch in connected speech. It is doubtful, however, if these curves will convey to any one not already familiar with the speech a satisfactory realization of its cadences. The intonations of a speech are very important for its idiomatic use, but they are too subtle and varied for simple description, and must therefore be learned by direct observation and experience. Perhaps the most apparent general characteristic of American speech, so far as cadence is concerned, is its levelness of tone. The voice rises and falls within a relatively narrow range, and with few abrupt transitions from high to low or low to high. To British ears American speech often sounds hesitating, monotonous and indecisive, and British speech, on the other hand, is likely to seem to Americans abrupt, explosive and manneristic. Both habits of speech, it need scarcely be said, are established by convention, and one is not more conscious or affected than the other.

One reason for the relative levelness in pitch of American speech may be that the American voice in general starts on a higher plane, is normally pitched higher than the British voice. If it is true, as is often said, that American life is more intense, more highly keyed nervously, than life in England, the high pitch of the American voice may reasonably be regarded as a natural consequence of this state of affairs. There is likely to be less range of cadence in a tense than in a relaxed manner of speech. If one ventured to give any general advice to American

speakers, it would be therefore to cultivate repose and ease of utterance. From this will result naturally the variety in cadence and the flexibility which give to speech its characteristic melodic qualities. The relatively dry climate of America may have something to do also with the high pitch of the American voice. It is a fact easy of verification that the pitch of one's voice is considerably lower in soft foggy weather than it is on a dry clear day.

**103. *Speed.*** The rate of speed in utterance varies widely with the emotional quality of the content of speech, and also with the temperament of individuals. Some people talk like greased lightning, others are as slow as molasses. American speech as compared with British is commonly said to be slow and 'drawling.' The effect of 'drawling' is partly produced by the levelness of intonation in American speech, partly by the retention of secondary stresses in polysyllables (see § 97), though partly also by a distinctly slow tempo in the utterance of many speakers. The habit of slow tempo in speech is usually regarded in America, however, as a mark of rustic speech, or of somewhat humorous Brother Jonathan speech, and it is doubtful if on the whole American cultivated speech is any slower than British speech. Even if it were, however, this could not be said to constitute a very serious charge against the language.

**104. *Timbre.*** The timbre, or characteristic quality of the speaking voice, is something over which the individual has very little control. It is determined by nature through the special character and shape of each person's vocal apparatus, including of course the vocal chords, just as the characteristic sound of a fife or flute or other instrument is determined by its physical structure. Since

probably no two persons have exactly the same physical equipment of speech, the timbre of no two voices can be exactly alike. Timbre is therefore the most individual and personal of all the elements of speech. A keen ear can readily distinguish several different voices and assign them definitely to their owners, even when the voices pronounce what we commonly call the same sound. From its nature timbre does not enter into the discussion of practice in pronunciation. Training may, of course, accomplish much in enabling one to realize the possibilities of one's 'organ,' as for example by correcting defects and developing the various muscles controlling the production of speech, but training cannot alter its essential character.

**105. Proper Names.** The pronunciation of proper names, both place names and personal names, is in general subject to the same rules as the pronunciation of the other words of the language. A traditional spelling is more likely to be retained in proper names, however, long after the pronunciation has changed. This is especially true in family names, in which conservative family tradition often preserves a spelling which corresponds very inadequately to the current pronunciation of the names. In England this peculiarity is more marked than in America, and spellings and pronunciations like **Colquhoun** [kə'hum], **Claverhouse** ['kleɪvəʊz], **Cockburn** ['kɒrbən], **Marjoribanks** ['mɑːʃ-, 'mɑːtʃbæŋks], **Meagher** ['mæːə], **Rivaulx** ['rɪvəʊz], to mention but a few among many, are likely to seem grotesque to the American eye and ear. In America the general tendency is to bring about a closer agreement between spelling and pronunciation, and for **Colquhoun** we commonly have **Calhoun**, for **Cockburn** either **Coburn** or a pronunciation which corresponds to

the spelling **Cockburn**, for **Meagher** a spelling **Maher**, or a spelling **Meeker** with corresponding pronunciation, or **Meagher** is pronounced ['migeə].

106. Some American place names are direct borrowings from England, such as **Leominster** ['ləmɪnstə], **Gloucester** ['glɒstə], **Worcester** ['wɜnstə], in Massachusetts, and have retained an archaic spelling. But the name of the town in Ohio named after the town in Massachusetts is **Wooster**, and many other proper names in America have undergone a similar rationalizing modification. Since proper names are always the personal possessions, so to speak, either of families, or of localities in which they are current, their pronunciations and spellings must be accepted in the form which their possessors wish them to have.

107. Many names of foreign origin have been Americanized, French **Du Bois** being pronounced [du'boɪz], German **Koch** pronounced [kɒtʃ], Dutch **Schurman**, in which **sch** was [ɛk], as it still is in **Schuykill** ['skuɪlkɪl], **Schuyler** ['ʃkaɪlə], etc., being pronounced as though it were the same as **Sherman**. One cannot make a general rule as to the pronunciation of such names of foreign origin, though it may be said that in the main any efforts which individuals may make to preserve the pronunciation of their names in accordance with their original phonetic forms are likely to prove unavailing in view of the strong general tendency to follow native analogies in pronunciation. Change in pronunciation may of course be held in check by changing spelling, as was done in the name **Knickerbocker**, originally spelled with **a** in the next to last syllable, pronounced [ɑ], but changed to **o** to avoid the common tendency to pronounce **a** as [æ] or [e]. In-



cidentally this change throws light on the American pronunciation of *o*, see §§ 110-111. It may be added that in thus Americanizing names of foreign origin, American speakers have done no more than English-speaking peoples have always done, as, for example, in what, from the Gallic point of view, must seem outrageous Anglicizations of **Bourchier** into ['bɔʊtʃə], of **Belvoir** into ['bi:və], of **Beaulieu** into ['bjʊli]. The French even the account, however, by Gallicizing English names, and any foreign words which pass current among a people are almost sure to suffer a sea-change in the course of time.

108. A somewhat noticeable feature in the American as well as British pronunciation of proper names is the tendency to stress dissyllabic family names on the second syllable, especially when in spelling the second syllable is written with a double consonant, as in the pronunciations **Birrell** [bi'rɛl], **Bithell** [bi'θɛl], **Cornell** [kɔr'nɛl], **Burnett** [bɜr'nɛt], **Bennett**, **Bennet** [be'nɛt], **Gillett** [dʒi'lɛt], **Furness** [fɜr'nɛs], **Purcell** [pɜr'sɛl], **Purnell** [pɜr'nɛl], etc., but also even **Farrar** [fə'rɔɹɪ], **Millard** [mi'lɔɹd], etc. In older usage these names were commonly all stressed on the first syllable, and in some instances the pronunciation with stress on the second syllable is quite recent and consciously assumed.

109. *Levels of Speech.* It is extremely important in the study of speech to be able to observe with detachment speech habits which in the main are quite unconscious. Though conscious speech habits are by no means unimportant, they constitute but a small part of the whole complex of a language and rarely indicate the direction of development which the language is taking. The student must cultivate the ability to observe the activities of

natural speech, which is normal speech, utilized for the purposes of communication with very little thought as to its formal character. Natural or normal speech thus differs from precise speech, which is largely self-conscious and theoretical, and it differs also from slovenly speech with which the precise speaker is inclined to confuse it. A speech may be fairly characterized as slovenly only when its articulations are habitually muddy and indistinct, when its general effect is such as to indicate a laxness of speech activities parallel to what untidiness and uncleanness would be in other personal habits. Ungrammatical or dialect speech is not necessarily slovenly, and in fact it is often the reverse, being frequently very crisp and energetic. On the other hand, one may find slovenly speakers even among those who pass as highly cultivated. The natural level, between precise and slovenly speech, may best be observed in the familiar conversation of educated persons whose habits of speech are not finical or affected.

The appeal in testing natural speech must always be to the ear. No one 'speaks as he writes' in English, and the attempt to regulate speech by the visible word lands one in countless absurdities. The precise speaker, however, will often do violence to the natural form of a word in order to make it over according to the pattern of the visible word. No one in natural speech pronounces two *g*'s in *suggest* [sə'dʒest], and it is a purist affectation to attempt to do so. In *asked* no one pronounces a final [d], the sound being always [t], and in current speech, no one pronounces both a clear [k] and a clear [t]. One may pronounce a very slight [k]-sound, though most speakers have no [k] at all, but simply a long [s], e.g., [a:ɪsɪt], and some omit the [t] altogether, pronouncing the preterite

like the present. This last pronunciation is not prevalent among cultivated speakers, though it represents no greater departure from the written form of the word than the prevalent pronunciation. In any case the natural pronunciation departs from the conventional spelling. In natural speech, unstressed vowels tend to become [ə], as, for example, **about** [ə'baʊt], **upon** [ə'pɒn], **amend**, **emend** [ə'mend], **national** [nə'sjənəl], **description** [di-'skripʃən], [də skripʃən], and only a conscious desire to reform the natural speech could lead to the attempt to introduce a clear vowel in the unstressed syllable of these words. But it seems safer to follow the normal processes of the language, and in doing so, one cannot do better than direct attention to the unconstrained speech of educated and well-bred persons. The decision who such persons are must naturally be left to individual judgment.

All natural and unconstrained speech is not, however, on the same level. The speech of formal discourse and of the public address, and in general of all expression where exceptional clearness and carrying power are important, differs in many details from the speech of colloquial and familiar conversation. Each is of course appropriate in its own surroundings, and it would be as much an error to speak formally when the situation called for familiar speech as to speak colloquially in a formal situation. If either level of speech be regarded as exceptional, it is obviously the formal speech, as the speech of a special occasion, that must be so regarded. In this volume the unconstrained colloquial speech of educated and well-bred persons has been taken as the norm, and deviations from it have been characterized as formal or precise or dialectal (provincial, local, or popular), or slovenly.

### III

#### SOUNDS AND THEIR OCCURRENCE

##### [a]

110. A short vowel [a] is general in America, with local exceptions in New England, in **fop** [fəp], **got** [gət], **hot** [hət], **lot** [lət], **not** [nət], **stock** [stək], **chocolate** ['tʃəkəlɪt], and many other words written with **o** before a voiceless stop. In sections of New England, as in British pronunciation, such words have a sound which closely approximates [ə], that is, [fəp], [hət], [lət], [nət], [stək], ['tʃəkəlɪt], etc., and this pronunciation may also be heard, especially in certain words, for example **chocolate**, elsewhere, though exceptionally, in America.

111. In many other words commonly written **o**, usage varies widely throughout America between [ə] and [a], the length of these vowels also varying from short to half-long or long, and even at times to over-long. The quantities are so unstable that it is difficult to indicate them with certainty:

(a) Before a voiced stop, both pronunciations occur in **dog** [dɔg] or [dæg], **log** [lɔg] or [læg], **hog** [hɔg] or [hæg], etc.; in **God** [gɔd] or [gʌd], **sod** [sɔd] or [səd], etc. Before [b], however, the preponderance of usage seems to be markedly in favor of [a], as in **rob** [rəb], **sob** [səb], **nobby** ['nɒbɪ], etc. The pronunciation of **daub** [dɔb] as [dab] is popular and dialectal.

(b) Before the continuant consonants the same variation occurs:

(1) before [l] or [r]: **doll** [dəl] or [dal], **follow** ['fəlo] or ['fəlo], **hollow** ['həlo] or ['halo], **pollen** ['pələn] or ['palən], etc.

**coroner** ['kərənəri] or ['karənəri], **forest** ['fəri:st] or ['farist], **foreign** ['fəri:n] or ['farin], **forehead** ['fəri:d] or ['farid], **horrid** ['həri:d] or ['harid], **orange** ['ərɪndʒ] or ['arɪndʒ], **torrid** ['təri:d] or ['tarid].

(2) before nasal continuants: **John** [dʒən] or [dʒan], **on** [ən] or [an], **strong** [strən] or [stran], **pomp** [pəmp] or [pamp], **romp** [rəmp] or [ramp], etc.

The pronunciations [stəmp] for **stamp** (*verb*) [stæmp] and [trəmp] for **tramp** (*verb*) [træmp] are dialectal.

For **bomb** the current pronunciations in America are [bʌm] and [bəm], and [bʌm] is also heard, though probably less commonly in America than in England. The influence of the spelling favors [bəm], and for this reason many speakers incline to regard [bʌm] as a popular and dialectal pronunciation. See § 204. The pronunciation [bum] is not general.

(3) before other continuants:

**coffee** ['kəfi] or ['kafi], **off** [ɔf] or [af], **often** ['ɔfn] or ['afn], **soft** [sɔft] or [sɒft], **cough** [kɔf] or [kaf].

**cost** [kɔst] or [kɒst], **docile** ['dəsil] or ['dasil], **hospital** ['hɒspɪtl] or ['haspɪtl], **ostrich** ['əstrɪtʃ] or ['astrɪtʃ], **Boswell** ['bəzwəl] or ['bazwəl], **rosin** ['rəzɪn] or ['razɪn].

**broth** [brəθ] or [brʌθ], **Gothic** ['gəθɪk] or ['gʌθɪk], **moth** [məθ] or [mʌθ], **bother** ['bʌðəri] or ['bʌðəri].

**grovel** ['grəvəl] or ['gravəl], also ['grʌvəl], **novel** ['nəvəl] or ['navəl]; **hovel** is ['havəl] or ['hʌvəl], **never** ['həvəl]; so



also **hover** ['hʌvəɪ] or ['hʌvəɪ]. For **shovel** the only pronunciation is ['ʃʌvəl], ['ʃʌvl].

(c) After [w], the sounds in question occur in words usually written **a**, but with a similar variation in usage, though the preference here seems to be clearly in favor of [ə], as in **quarrel** ['kwərəɪ], **swamp** [swəmp], **swan** [swən], **want** [wənt], **wash** [wəʃ], **wasp** [wəsp], **water** ['wətəɪ]. But the preference is by no means consistent, and ['swələ], ['wəbl] seem to be more common for **swallow**, noun and verb, and **wabble**, than ['swələ], ['wəbl]; and in individual usage, many speakers who say **wash** [wəʃ], **Washington** ['wəʃɪŋtən] will also pronounce **watch** as [wətʃ] and **squab** as [skwəb]. This inconsistency extends through the whole group of words, and the same speaker who says **God** [gəd] will say **dog** [dɒg], and so with many other words. In such a state of affairs, all that can be said with respect to these usages is that they vary according to habit or preference. One caution may be entered, however, against making the vowel [ə] too long, as in the pronunciations commonly indicated in dialect stories by the spellings *dawg* and *Gawd*, that is, [dɔ:g], [gɔ:ɪd].

On the dialectal pronunciation of [ɔ:] as [ɑ] or [ɑ:], see § 187.

112. The colloquial contraction **aren't** ['arənt], or with omission of the **r** [ɑ:nt], often becomes [eɪnt], [eɪnt], but only in very familiar colloquial or dialect pronunciation. The pronunciation [eɪnt], [eɪnt] is also extended to the singular in dialect speech. In the first person singular, interrogative, one occasionally hears ['arənt aɪ], or sometimes [ænt aɪ] from cultivated speakers, who use this form to avoid the somewhat awkward "am not I," but the usage is not general.

113. The pronunciation of **was** is [waz] or [wəz], or in rapid speech and when the word is lightly stressed, [wəz]. The pronunciation [waz] when the word is stressed is scarcely cultivated usage.

For [a] in the diphthong [aʊ], see § 222.

[a:]

114. This sound occurs in **father** ['fɑ:ðə], where it is practically universal in American speech, the pronunciations ['fæ:ðə] and ['fɛ:ðə] being only occasional and dialectal. But in no other word of the same type does this uniformity in usage obtain. In **rather** standard usage varies between ['rɑ:ðə], ['ræ:ðə] and ['ræðə], with the preponderance in favor of ['ræðə]. ['rʌðə] is illiterate and dialectal. In other words, like **gather**, **lather**, **slather**, **blather**(skite), **Mather**, the vowel is prevailingly [æ], or [æ·], with local exceptions in New England in favor of [a:], see § 125. [a·] or [a] occurs also in **bother**, which forms a fairly satisfactory ear-rime with **father**, though it offends the eye. Beside ['bɑ:ðə], or ['bæðə], much less commonly ['bəðə] also occurs, see § 111, (3).

115. [a:] occurs regularly in words where **a** is written before **lm**, the **l** being silent, in **psalm** [sɑ:m], **palm** [pɑ:m], **balm** [bɑ:m], **calm** [kɑ:m], **alms** [ɑ:mz], see §§ 274-276. In **salmon**, **almond** both ['sæmən], ['æmənd] and ['sɑ:mən], ['ɑ:mənd] occur. A spelling-pronunciation, with the **l** sounded, is sometimes heard in these two words, but is not general. Before **f**, **s**, **th**, **nce**, **nch**, **nt**, **lf**, **lv**, [a:] occurs locally in some regions of the East, but generally the sound varies between [a:], [æ], [æ·], and in some words [ɔ:], see §§ 124, 128. For **au** pronounced [a:], see § 186.

116. Before [ɹ] final or preceding a consonant, **a**, often also **ea**, of the conventional spelling, is [aɪ], as **hart**, **heart** [haɪt], **star** [staɪ], **marred** [maɪd], **Clark(e)** [klaɪk], etc., **hearth** [haɪθ], **large** [laɪdʒ].

117. In British English certain words spelled **e** before **r** and a consonant are pronounced [aɪ], with the **r** silent, as in **clerk** [klaɪk], **Hertford** ['hɑ:tfəd], **Derby** ['daɪbɪ], but in America words which are so written are pronounced with [ə], and when they are pronounced with [aɪ], as in the proper name **Clark(e)**, they are written with **a**. An exception in American speech is **sergeant**, which is commonly pronounced ['sɑ:ɪdʒənt], like the proper name **Sargent**.

118. The standard pronunciation of **hearth** is [haɪθ], but [həθ] is also heard as an old-fashioned or dialectal pronunciation.

119. Those speakers who have no [ɹ] before consonants and finally, have [aɪ] in words like **hard** [haɪd], **part** [paɪt], **harp** [hɑ:p], **hearth** [hɑ:θ], **marred** [maɪd], **tar** [taɪ], **car** [kaɪ]. But some speakers in New England have a vowel in these words which closely approximates [aɪ], and even at times [æɪ], e.g., **Harvard** ['hɑ:vəd], **part** [paɪt], etc., see § 45, note, where this sound is indicated by the spelling **Havvad**.

For the pronunciations **tar** [taɪə], **car** [kaɪə], etc., see § 301.

120. [aɪ], sometimes shortened to [a], occurs in some words of foreign origin, as in **lava** ['laɪvə], **data** ['daɪtə], **errata** [e'raɪtə], **bas-relief** ['ba:ri'li:f], **spa** [spaɪ], **mirage** [mɪ'raɪʒ], **garage** [gə'raɪʒ], popularly often ['gærɪdʒ],

though some of these also have Anglicized pronunciations with [æ], e.g., [ˈlævə], [ˈdætə], etc. The word **vase** is either [vaɪz] or [veɪs], [veɪz], the last being much the most general pronunciation. The pronunciation of **tomato** is commonly [təˈme-to], but [təˈmɑːto] is also in fairly general use, especially as a consciously cultivated pronunciation. The form [təˈmæto] is relatively rare. In **piano**, the form [piˈæno] is general, [piˈɑːno] exceptional. For **drama** three pronunciations are current, [ˈdraɪmə], [ˈdræmə] and [ˈdremə], though the first is the only one widely used. For **suave** the usual American pronunciation is [swaɪv], but in England [swɛɪv].

121. In American place names, like **Alabama**, **Colorado**, **Nevada**, **Nebraska**, **Montana**, a pronunciation with [ɑː] in the stressed syllable is sometimes heard, especially in the East, but in the states themselves and in America generally, the words are pronounced [æləˈbæmə], [kələˈrædə], [nəˈvædə], [nəˈbræskə], [mənˈtænə].

122. Where cultivated speech regularly has [ɔɪ], as in **caught** [kɔɪt], **bought** [bɔɪt], **haughty** [ˈhɔɪti], **naughty** [ˈnɔɪti], etc., a dialect pronunciation [kɑːt], [bɑːt], [ˈhɑɪti], [ˈnɑɪti], etc., prevails in some regions.

123. In several regions of the Atlantic seaboard a glide vowel is introduced between a preceding [k], [g] and [ɑː], as in the Virginia pronunciation of **carter** [kɪˈɑɪtə], **garden** [ɡɪˈɑɪdən], but this pronunciation is distinctly local or dialectal. See § 217.

### [aɪ]

124. This sound occurs as a simple vowel normally only as a long or half-long vowel, though the short of it

appears as the first element in the diphthong [aɪ], see § 209. It is heard in certain positions, chiefly in somewhat conscious and academic speech, as a compromise sound between [aɪ], which is rejected as being too 'broad,' and [æ] or [æ̃], a popular sound widely distributed over the whole country, which is rejected as being too 'narrow' or 'flat.' It is cultivated in words written **a**, sometimes **au**, before a voiceless continuant, or before a nasal followed by a voiceless stop or continuant, as in **grass**, **half**, **laugh**, **path** (also before a voiced continuant, as in **paths**, **calves**, **halves**, **baths**, when the voiced form is a variant, usually the plural, of a head form with a voiceless sound), **aunt**, **branch**, **can't**, **dance**, **fancy**, **France**, **shan't**, etc.

125. Before a voiced continuant and before a nasal followed by a voiced stop or continuant, **a** is usually pronounced [æ], as in **flange** [flændʒ], **grand** [grænd], **has** [hæz], **have** [hæv], **lather** ['læðə], **rather** ['ræðə], **pansy** ['pænzɪ], though speakers who acquire the pronunciation [a] consciously and attempt to carry it through consistently sometimes indulge in pronunciations like ['panzɪ], [haz], etc.

126. Some exceptions to the above groupings may be noted: **cant** (*noun*) is always [kænt], and **pant**, **pantry**, **panther** are scarcely ever heard except as [pænt], ['pæntɪ], ['pænθə]. Some speakers who pronounce **aunt** as [aɪnt], say [ænt] for **ant**. The word **gas** is almost universally [gæs], and **hath** (perhaps because of **have** and **has**, with voiced consonants) is always [hæθ]. Before [ʃ] **a** is never [aɪ], but [æ], as in **dash** [dæʃ], **fashion** ['fæʃən], **rational** ['ræʃənəl], etc.

127. When it comes to a question of choice among the several possible pronunciations of **dance**, **laugh**, **branch**,



etc., the decision usually rests between [aɪ] and [æ], [ɑɪ] being ruled out as too 'broad' and as somewhat 'la-di-da.' And when it comes to a question of choice between these two the purist tendency has been to condemn the pronunciation [æ], although this is by far the more common sound in all the words in point in American speech. The result has been to give to [aɪ] extraordinary dictionary and academic prestige in the face of a strongly opposing popular usage. The reasons for this are several: first, that standard British speech and some forms of New England speech have [ɑɪ] in the words in question; second, that New England has exerted, and to some extent continues to exert, a strong influence upon formal instruction and upon notions of cultivation and refinement throughout the country; and third, that the pronunciation [æ] is often prolonged, or drawled, and nasalized in a way that makes it seem not merely American, but provincially American. To steer between the Scylla of provincialism, [æɪ], and the Charybdis of affectation and snobbishness, [ɑɪ], many conscientious speakers in America cultivate [aɪ]. The writer has tested this sound on many different groups of speakers from various sections of the country, and has never found one who used the sound who did not do so with a certain degree of self-consciousness. If the cult of this sound continues long enough, it may in time come to be a natural and established sound in the language. In the meantime, it seems a pity that so much effort and so much time in instruction should be given to changing a natural habit of speech which is inherently just as good as the one by which the purist would supplant it. Especially in public school instruction it would seem to be wiser to spend time on more important matters in speech than the difference between [hæf] and [haɪf].

[æ], [æɪ]

128. This is the sound, usually a short vowel, universally current in **hat** [hæt], **cab** [kæb], **bad** [bæd], **patter** ['pætəɪ], **grand** [grænd], **fashion** ['fæʃən], and a large number of other words. It is also the natural pronunciation of the majority of American speakers in words written **a** before a voiced or voiceless continuant and before **n** followed by a voiced or voiceless continuant or stop, as in **glass** [glæs], **bath** [bæθ], **dance** [dænts] or [dæns], **can't** [kænt], **branch** [bræntʃ], etc. The vowel tends to become long in words of this type, and locally and dialectally to become over-long, see §§ 82, 127. It is especially likely to be long before a voiced sound, for example, **path** [pæθ], but **paths** [pæɪðz].

129. Before **r**, **rr** followed by a vowel, orthographic **a** is usually [æ], as in **carry** ['kæɪ], **carriage** ['kæɪɪdʒ], **Clara** ['klærə], **caret** ['kæɪɪt], **claret** ['klæɪɪt], **parent** ['pærənt], **Paris** ['pæɪs], **parish** ['pæɪɪʃ], **marry** ['mæɪɪ], **tarry** (*verb*) ['tæɪɪ]. As an adjective **tarry** ['tæɪɪ] retains the vowel of the simple word **tar** [tɑɪ]. Some speakers, however, pronounce [ɛ] for **a** before **r** and a vowel, not distinguishing **parish** and **perish**, **marry** and **merry**. The pronunciation with [æ] is to be preferred. A special grouping must be made for words like **chary**, **fairy**, **Mary**, **vary**, **wary**, for which see §§ 133, 141.

130. For **radish** ['ræɪɪʃ], the popular dialects often have ['redɪʃ]. The pronunciation of **plait**, 'to braid,' is [plæt], but the common form of the word in the sense 'to fold,' 'to make folds,' is **pleat** [pliɪt]. Etymologically the words have the same origin and are sometimes confused. For **apricot** both ['æprɪ'kat] and ['eɪprɪ'kat] are

in general use. The final syllable may be light, [-kət]. For **bade**, past tense of **bid**, the standard pronunciation is [bæd], as in **I bade him goodbye** [aɪ 'bæd hɪm 'ɡud'baɪ], though a spelling-pronunciation [beɪd] or [beɪd] is occasionally heard, especially when the word occurs in phrases which have passed out of colloquial use. For **banal** the common pronunciation is [bə'næl] or ['bænəl], less frequently ['beɪnəl]. Two pronunciations are current for **halibut**, ['hæləbət] or ['hələbət]. For **raillery** both ['reɪləri] and ['ræləri] are heard, with academic authority in favor of the former; but so far as the word is popular at all, common usage favors the second. Two forms, ['reɪʒənz] and ['ræʒənz], for **rations** are in use, the second being the more general. For **asphalt** the common British pronunciation is [æs'fælt] or ['æs'fælt], but in America nearly always the word is ['æs'fɒlt]. The proper name **Spokane** is locally [spo'kæn], and [spo'keɪn] is heard from speakers who know the word only as an eye-word.

[e], [e:], [e:]

131. The sound represented by [e] can best be observed in words like **chaotic** [ke'atɪk], **archaic** [ɑ'ke-ɪk], or in polysyllables like **vacation** [ve'ke-ʃən] where the first vowel is short, the second half-long, **Baconian** [be'ko-njən], **fatally** ['fe-təli], **bakery** ['be-kəri], **bay-berry** ['be-beri], **pay-roll** ['pe-ro-l], etc. In some of these words the quantity varies from short to half-long according to the degree of stress. High vowels like [e] and [i] are less likely to be obviously prolonged than mid or low vowels, and one is consequently often in doubt whether to take them as long or short.

132. In monosyllables with a full stress, the vowel lengthens and frequently becomes diphthongal. This is

especially apparent when the vowel is final, as in **day** [deɪ], **they** [ðeɪ], **they** [weɪ], etc., and before voiced consonants, as in **fade** [feɪd], **grave** [ɡreɪv], **haze** [heɪz], etc., see § 207. Before voiceless consonants, however, even in stressed monosyllables, the diphthongal quality is very slight, and often not audibly present at all. Compare, for example, **rate** with **raid** (the spelling of **raid** is not significant), or **face** with **phase**, or **waif** with **wave**, **waive**. If the vowel is diphthongized at all, it is more likely to be diphthongal in **raid**, **phase**, **wave**, **waive**, than in **rate**, **face**, **waif**. But with many speakers the diphthongal quality, if present at all, is so slight as not to be appreciated by the ear. For such speakers the sound is to be recorded simply as [eɪ]. No questions of propriety in usage are raised by the variation between [eɪ] and [eɪ], the difference being so slight that it does not attract attention to itself.

133. A clear [e]-vowel rarely occurs before [r], but is sometimes heard in formal speech in **vary** (to distinguish the word from **very**), **Mary** (as distinguished from **merry**), **chary** (as distinguished from **cherry**), **parent**, **vagary** [və'ge-rɪ], **wary**, etc., where the spelling exerts an influence on the pronunciation, see § 129.

134. For **patent** both ['pɛtənt] and ['pætənt] occur, the former when the word has the sense 'obvious,' 'apparent.' But **latent** is always ['lɛtənt]. For **quoit** the common popular pronunciation is [kwɛɪt], but the cultivated and dictionary pronunciation is [kwɔɪt] or [kɔɪt]. The common standard pronunciation for **patriot**, **patriotism**, **patriotic**, in America is ['pɛtriət], ['pɛtriə'tɪzəm], [pɛtri'atɪk], but [pætr-] is also heard, more frequently in **patriotism**, **patriotic**, than in **patriot**. For **Danish** the standard pronunciation is ['dæniʃ], the long vowel being

maintained by the analogy of **Dane**. In popular speech, however, the vowel is often shortened, as in ['dænɪʃ], and as it is in both popular and cultivated speech in **Spanish** ['spænɪʃ] as compared with **Spain** [speɪn]. Cf. **Polish** and **polish**, § 179. For **glacier** American speech has ['gleɪʃɪə], ['gleɪʃə], but ['glæsɪə] only as a Britishism. A pronunciation ['gleɪsɪə] may be heard occasionally in formal speech. The pronunciation of **aye**, 'ever', is [eɪ], [eɪ], as distinguished from **ay**, 'yes', which is [aɪ]. The plural of **ay** is spelled **eyes** but pronounced [aɪz]. For **again**, **against**, the usual pronunciations are [ə'gen], [ə'genst], though [ə'gem], [ə'geɪnst] are occasionally heard, probably because of the spelling. For **always** the standard pronunciation is ['ɔl'weɪz] or ['ɔl'weːz], but in popular speech the word often becomes ['ɔlwəz], ['ɔlwɪz], and sometimes ['ɔləz]. For **Isaiah** both [aɪ'zeɪə] and [ɪ'zaɪə] are in current use, the former being the more general.

## [e]

135. This is the common sound of English **e** in **get** [get], **ten** [ten], **bend** [bend], **lense** [lenz], **tread** [tred], **breath** [bræθ], **meadow** ['mɛdo], **educate** ['ɛdʒu'keɪt], and hosts of other words. The current pronunciation of **again**, **against**, [ə'gen], [ə'genst], is occasionally changed under the influence of spelling to [ə'geɪn], [ə'geɪnst] or [ə'gem], [ə'geɪnst]. Before [r] followed by a vowel, **e** is commonly [e], as in **very** ['veri], **perish** ['perɪʃ], **terrible** ['terɪbl], **ferry** ['ferɪ], **merit** ['merɪt]. For [ɛ] in words of this type pronounced [ʌ], see § 201. For **hero**, **zero**, **Nero**, etc., see § 168.

136. In a few learned words, like **serum**, **Ceres**, **series**, **e** before **r** is [i] or [ɪ], likewise **cereal**, **serial** ['sɪriəl], **serious** ['sɪriəs], **period** ['piəriəd]. The spelling of **bury** ['beri] is



exceptional. As the name of a town in England, **Bury** is pronounced [ˈbjuəri]. A variant form **yelk** [jelk] exists by the side of **yolk** [jɔk].

137. The preterite of the verb **eat** is always spelled **ate** and almost universally pronounced [eɪt] in America, but occasionally [et], this being a generally current British pronunciation, see *New English Dictionary*, and Michaelis-Jones, *Phonetic Dictionary*, under this word. Most Americans regard [et] as dialectal. The proper name, as well as the common noun, **Jenny**, **jenny**, is always [ˈdʒɛni] in cultivated American speech, but [ˈdʒɪni] for **Jenny** is good British usage. So also [ˈkɪmɪst] for **chemist** and derivatives is good British usage, but in America the word is always [ˈkemɪst].

138. In **epoch** the stressed vowel is usually short, giving [ˈɛpək], but sometimes in very formal pronunciation the word becomes [ˈi:pək]. For **tenet**, **tenable** the usual pronunciation is [ˈtɛnɪt], [ˈtɛnəbl], occasionally [ˈtɪnɪt], [ˈtɪnəbl]. For **deaf** the standard pronunciation is [dɛf], but [di:f], which is an older historical survival, is often heard in the popular dialects. In Webster's day, [di:f] was the general pronunciation, see *Dissertations*, p. 128. As an adjective **cleanly** is pronounced [ˈklɛnli], as an adverb, [ˈkli:nlɪ]. In **pretty**, **England**, **English**, the standard pronunciation is [ˈprɪti], [ˈɪŋɡlənd], [ˈɪŋɡlɪʃ], the occasional pronunciation with [ɛ] being artificial and due to the spelling.

139. For **get** [ɡɛt] and derivatives popular English frequently has [ɡɪt]; so also [tʃɪst] for **chest** [tʃɛst], [jɪt] for **yet** [jɛt], [ɪnˈstɪd] for **instead** [ɪnˈstɛd], and similarly with other words.

Before [g], in the popular dialects, [ei] is often heard for standard [ɛ], as in the pronunciations [eɪg], [beɪg], [leɪg], ['nat'meɪg] for standard egg [ɛg], beg [bɛg], leg [lɛg], nutmeg ['nat'mɛg], etc.

For **keg** [kɛg] a frequent dialect form is [kæg]. So also **yes** [jɛs] is very often [jæs] in popular pronunciation.

### [e:]

140. This symbol represents the long vowel commonly heard before **r** in such words as **there** [ðeɪə], **where** [weɪə], **dare** [deɪə], **fair** [feɪə], **hare**, **hair** [heɪə], **pare**, **pair**, **pear** [peɪə], **lair** [leɪə]. These words may also be heard with a glide vowel before [ɪ], [ðeɪəɪ], [weɪəɪ], [deɪəɪ], etc., or with loss of the final consonant, [ðeɪə], [weɪə], [deɪə], etc.

On the organic difference between [ɛ] and [e:], see above, §§ 54, 55.

141. The pronunciation of **chary**, **fairy**, **hairy**, **Mary**, **vary**, **wary** is ['tʃeəri], [feəri], [heəri], ['meəri], ['veəri], ['weəri], which distinguishes **chary** from **cherry**, **fairy** from **ferry**, **hairy** from **Harry** [hæri], **Mary** from **merry**, **marry**, **vary** from **very**, **wary** from **wherry**. On words of this type pronounced with [ɛ], see § 133.

142. There is considerable variation among cultivated speakers in the quality of the vowel in words of the type of **there**, **where**, etc., degrees being present all the way from [ɛ:] to [æ:], or when the vowel is short as in **berry**, **very**, etc., from [ɛ] to [æ]. But pronunciations like **there** [ðæɪə], **hair** [hæɪə], **stair** [stæɪə], or **very** ['væri], **terrible** ['tæribl] are scarcely to be recommended for imitation.

143. The slight glide vowel inserted before the [ɪ] in **fair** [feɪəɪ], **hair** [heɪəɪ], **there** [ðeɪəɪ], etc., when the [ɪ]

is not pronounced is often prolonged and even becomes [a], e.g., **fair** ['fɛɪə] or ['fɛɪa], **hair** ['heɪə] or [h'eɪa], **there** ['ðɛɪə] or ['ðɛɪa]. The vowel [a] in such pronunciations often receives a fairly heavy stress. These latter usages are nowhere general in America, though sometimes cultivated in imitation of what is taken to be Eastern American or British usage.

144. In words compounded with **aero**, as in **aeroplane**, **aeronaut**, **aerostat**, etc., the standard formal pronunciation of the first syllable is ['eɪrə-] or ['ɛɪrə-]. But ['eɪrə-] is quite generally used. The final vowel of the syllable may also be heard as [o] in careful speech. The pronunciation ['ɛrə-] is popular and dialectal.

145. In **were** the common pronunciation is [wəɹ] or [waɹ], though the pronunciation [wɛɹ], also [wɛɪɹ], is sometimes cultivated in precise speech.

### [ə]

146. The vowel [ə] is a sound of wide occurrence in unstressed position, and is the sound which vowels in general tend to become when, as in rapid speech, they are somewhat obscured. It occurs in all positions in the word, initially, medially and finally, e.g., **about** [ə'baʊt], **finally** ['fʌnəli], **zebra** ['zɪbrə], **Cuba** [kju'bə], **sofa** ['sɒfə], **a man** [ə'mæn], **Iceland** ['aɪlənd], etc. Certain words in which standard speech retains a relatively clear vowel in final unstressed syllables, occur with this obscure vowel in dialect speech, e.g., dialect **yellow** ['jelə], **potato** [pə'tetə], **tomato** [tə'metə], **piano** [pr'ænə], **window** ['wɪndə], **fellow** ['felə], **thorough** ['θʌrə], **always** ['ɔlwəz].

147. In careless and rapid speech some speakers have a tendency to omit [ə] where cultivated speech retains it.

This is especially noticeable when [ə] is preceded by a vowel or [r], as in **poem**, in popular pronunciation [poim], in standard speech [ˈpoɪm], or [ˈpoɪəm] or [ˈpoɪm], see § 173; **moral**, popularly [ˈmaɪl], in standard speech [ˈmɔrəl]; **towel**, popularly [ˈtaɪl], in standard speech [ˈtaʊəl]; **quarrel**, popularly [ˈkwɑɪl], in standard speech [ˈkwɔrəl]; **diary**, popularly [ˈdaɪrɪ], in standard speech [ˈdaɪəri]; **diamond**, popularly [ˈdaɪmənd], in standard speech [ˈdaɪəmənd]; **real**, **really**, popularly [ˈri:l], [ˈri:ɪ], in standard speech [ˈri:əl], [ˈri:əɪ], sometimes also [ˈri:əl], [ˈri:əɪ]; **cruel**, popularly [ˈkru:l], in standard speech [ˈkru:əl]; **violet**, popularly [ˈvaɪlət], [ˈvaɪlət], in standard speech [ˈvaɪələt], very formally [ˈvaɪələt].

The pronunciation of **deal**, **seal**, **peal**, etc., as [di:l], [si:l], [pi:l] is standard, the spelling **ea** in these words being a representation of what is historically a simple vowel, whereas in **real** the spelling **ea**, which looks the same, is of entirely different origin. It is derived from an originally dissyllabic word, with the syllabic break between the two vowels, and standard speech continues to maintain the word as a dissyllable.

148. The final unstressed syllable of words ending in **a** is pronounced [ə] in standard speech, but frequently [ɪ] in popular speech, as in **opera** [ˈopərə], **era** [ˈɪrə] or [ˈɪrə], **extra** [ˈɛkstrə], **America** [əˈmɛrɪkə], **Noah** [ˈnoɪə], **Martha** [ˈmɑ:ɪə], etc., pronounced [ˈɑpɪrɪ], [ˈɪrɪ], [ˈɛkstrɪ], [əˈmɛrɪkɪ], [ˈnoɪ], [ˈmɑ:ɪ], etc. For **Iowa** the common pronunciation is [ˈaɪəwə], dialectally sometimes [ˈaɪəwɪ].

149. For **cupola** [ˈkju:pələ], popular pronunciation frequently has a transposition of the unstressed vowels, giving [ˈkju:pəˈlo]. In **cocoa** [ˈko:ko] the final vowel is silent; the word is a metathesized form of **cacao**, but this

original form of the word is now used only in scientific writing. When compounded with **-nut**, the word is frequently spelled **coco-**, as in **coco-nut** ['koko-'nat]. The word **curaçao** ['kjura'saio], derived from the name of a Dutch island in the Carribean, is commonly metathesized into **curaçoa** ['kjura'soɪə] or ['kjura'sou].

**150.** As an inflectional ending, **e** in the ending **-es** is always silent when the **s** is voiceless, as in **rites**, **writes** (third singular of the verb) [raɪts], **likes** [laɪks], **rates** [reɪts], etc., and it is silent also when the **s** is voiced, except when the syllable **-es** is preceded by [s], [z], [ʃ] or [ʒ], in which case **e** [ə] is pronounced, as in **pieces** [pi:səz], **prizes** [praɪzəz], **wishes** ['wɪʃəz], **stages** [steɪdʒəz].

**151.** Between [l] and a succeeding [m] a vowel [ə] is sometimes present in popular speech which does not appear in standard speech, as in **elm** [elm], **film** [film], **realm** [reɪlm], etc., pronounced ['eləm], ['fɪləm], ['reɪləm], etc. So also ['æθə'lit], [æθə'letɪk] for **athlete** ['æθ'lit], **athletic** [æθ'letɪk].

**152.** Before [l] or [ɹ], and after a vowel, a slight glide [ə], [ə] is sometimes present, as in such pronunciations as **stole** ['stɔlə], **four** [fɔlə], **milk** [mɪlə], **dart** [dɑlə], etc., but this sound is so slight in standard pronunciation that it does not seem necessary to represent it phonetically, see §§ 160, 167. It is often exaggerated in the speech of young children, who prolong also the preceding vowel.

**153.** Before [r], intervocalic, a very distinct [ə] is present in British speech, especially noticeable to American ears when the vowel preceding [r] is [ɪ], [e] or [a], as in **period** ['piəriəd], **peeress** ['piəri:s], **parent** ['peərənt], **miry** ['maɪəri], **Byron** ['baɪərən]; but this [ə] is scarcely ever



heard in America, the words cited being pronounced [ˈpɪriəd], [ˈpɪrɪs] or [ˈpɪres], [ˈpærənt] or [ˈperənt], [ˈmaɪrɪ], [ˈbaɪrən]. In the adjective form of **fire** [faɪə], which is spelled **fiery**, a pronunciation [ˈfaɪəri] may be heard, but also [ˈfaɪrɪ]. But **wiry** from **wire** [waɪə] is always [ˈwaɪrɪ].

## [ə]

154. This symbol stands for the short inverted vowel sound, which is to be clearly distinguished from [ə]. The sound appears in stressed and unstressed syllables, and is represented in conventional spelling by various vowel letters before **r** final or followed by a consonant, as in **bird** [bɜrd], **burr** [bɜr], **sir** [sɜr], **fir**, **fur** [fɜr], **heard** [hɜrd], **person** [ˈpɜrsən], **serpent** [ˈsɜrpənt], **worthy** [ˈwɜrði], **myrtle** [ˈmɜrtl], etc. The vowel is normally short, but may be prolonged in exceptional instances, as in the somewhat exotic word **myrrh** [mɜr] or [mɜɪr]. For **iron**, **tired**, **hired**, etc., see § 304.

155. When [ɪ] is not pronounced before the consonant in **bird**, **heard**, **person**, etc., the vowel is usually [ʌɪ]. When final [ɪ] is not pronounced, it often leaves a weak [ə] as its survival, **burr** [bʌɪə], **fir**, **fur** [fʌɪə], etc. Final **r** in unstressed syllables when not pronounced is preceded by [ə], as in **never** [ˈnevə], **feather** [ˈfɛðə], etc. In affected speech this vowel sometimes becomes [ɑ], see § 143.

156. For **girl** the current pronunciation is [gɜrl] or [gʌrl], but [gɛrl], [gærl], [gɪrl] are sometimes heard and are often cultivated as refined pronunciations.

157. For **courteous**, **courtezan** the usual pronunciation is [ˈkɜrtɪəs], [ˈkɜrtəzən], but for **courtier**, [ˈkɜrtɪər], [ˈkɜrtʃər] are more general.

158. For [ə] of the standard speech in words containing [ɪ] followed by a consonant, in New York and its vicinity a diphthong is heard, commonly represented in dialect stories by the spelling *oi*, e.g., *thoid*, 'third,' *foist*, 'first,' *boid*, 'bird.' The phonetic elements of this diphthong are usually [ə] followed by [ɪ]. This pronunciation has not made its way into cultivated usage.<sup>1</sup>

159. For **very**, **terrible**, **syrup**, etc., pronounced [ˈvəɪ], [ˈtəɪbl], [ˈsərəp], etc., see § 201. The pronunciation of [ə] for [ə] before [r] followed by a vowel in unstressed syllables is to be avoided, e.g., **history** [ˈhɪstəri] pronounced [ˈhɪstəri].

160. Between [aɪ], [aʊ] and a succeeding final [ɪ], a vowel [ə] is regularly present in accented words, **hire** and **higher** [ˈhaɪə] being homonyms; so also **flour**, **flower** [ˈflaʊə] are homonymous. Not infrequently a slovenly kind of pronunciation is heard in which this [ə] is omitted and the preceding diphthong is reduced to [aɪ], **flower**, **flour** being pronounced [flaɪ], **fire** pronounced [faɪ], as though it were the same as **far**, **our**, **hour** pronounced [aɪ]. The word **our** in unstressed position in colloquial speech is very commonly [aɪ], so commonly that perhaps one cannot characterize it as slovenly. But its phonetic form is due entirely to the fact that it is slightly stressed. In stressed position the diphthong [aʊ] is never [aɪ] in standard speech.

[i], [iː], [iɪ]

161. The vowel [i] is heard only in polysyllables, like **expediency** [eksˈpɪdɪənsɪ], where the stress on the accented syllable is comparatively light, or in unstressed syllables,

<sup>1</sup> See Babbitt, *Dialect Notes*, I, 463.

as in **eternal** [i'təɪnəl], **economy** [i'kənəmi], **œsophagus** [i'səfəgəs]. The half-long vowel may be recognized in compounds, like **tea-table** ['ti·te·bl], and the long vowel in words containing full stress, as in **tea** [ti:], **he** [hi:], **key**, **quay** [ki:], **deed** [di:d], **bean** [bi:n], **priest** [pri:st], **convene** [kən'vi:n], **eagle** ['i:gl], **Egypt** ['i:dzɪpt].

162. For **sleek**, **creek**, **clique** the standard pronunciations are [sli:k], [kri:k], [kli:k], though [sli:k], [kri:k], [kli:k] are widely current in familiar colloquial use, and [sli:k], in the sense 'cunning,' 'sly,' may be said to have passed into general use. The pronunciation [fə'tɪg] for **fatigue** [fə'ti:g] is not cultivated usage. For **amenable** the standard pronunciation is [ə'mi:nəbl], but for **amenity** almost always [ə'menɪti], though sometimes [ə'mi:nɪti].

163. In words of Greek origin commonly spelled æ, as in **Æschylus**, **Æsculapius**, **æsthetic**, **anapæst**, the usual pronunciation in America is ['æskɪləs], [æskju'leɪpiəs], [es'θetɪk], [æ'nəpæst], but [i:əs-] in England and not infrequently also in America. **Æsop** is always ['i:səp], and the spelling æ is usually [i] or [i:], as in **œsophagus** [i'səfəgəs], **Ænone** [i'no:ni], **œcumenical** [ikju'menɪkl], **Ædipus** ['i:di:pəs], though pronunciations with [ɛ], as in ['edɪpəs], [ɛkju'menɪkl], are also heard.

164. For **Elizabethan** both [əlɪzə'bi:θən] and [əlɪzə'bɛθən] occur. For **scenic** the common pronunciation is ['senɪk], though ['sɪnɪk], which is the more usual British pronunciation, and is of course supported by the analogy of **scene** [sɪn], is sometimes heard. For **fetid**, **fetish** both ['fɪtɪd], ['fɪtɪʃ] and ['fetɪd], ['fetɪʃ] are current, and for **leisure** both ['li:ʒə] and ['leʒə]. For **either**, **neither** the general pronunciation is ['i:ðə], ['ni:ðə], but oc-

casionally ['aɪðə], ['naɪðə] are heard, often as a conscious refined pronunciation. It is popular and general nowhere in America. For **inveigle** the usual pronunciation is [ɪn'vi:gl], but sometimes also [ɪn'veɪgl]. For **penal** the pronunciation is ['pi:nəl], for **penalize** either ['pi:nəlaɪz] or ['penəlaɪz], for **penalty** always ['penəltɪ].

165. Words containing the prefix **pre-** as a stressed syllable usually have the pronunciation [pri-] when the syllable is logically important, as in clear compounds like **prehistoric** ['prihɪs'tɔrɪk], **predigested** ['prɪdaɪ'dʒestɪd], **prefix** ['prɪfɪks], **prepay** ['pri'peɪ], also in a few somewhat learned words, the etymological origins of which are still felt, as in **precinct** ['pri'sɪŋkt], **prefect** ['pri'fɛkt], **prelude** ['pri'lʊ:d], also sometimes ['pre'lʊ:d]. Otherwise the syllable is usually pronounced [pre-], though custom is not completely uniform, some words like **predecessor**, **predilection**, **premature**, **presentation** being pronounced either [pre-] or [pri-]. The pronunciation with [pre-] is the more common, and in some words, e.g., **predicate**, **preference**, **prejudice**, **preparation**, **preposition**, **preterite**, it is the only one in good use.

166. In the ending **-itis**, as in **appendicitis**, **neuritis**, **phlebitis**, **meningitis**, etc., both [-ɪtəs] and [-aɪtəs] occur; also **angina** [æn'dʒɪnə], [æn'dʒaɪnə], better ['ændʒɪnə], **Argentine** ['ɑ:dʒən'ti:n] or ['ɑ:dʒən'taɪn], **adamantine** [ædə'mæn'ti:n] or [ædə'mæn'taɪn]. For **oblique** the more usual pronunciation is [o'blɪk], but also, less frequently, [o'blaɪk].

167. Before [r], [ɹ], [ɪ] is commonly lowered to [ɪ] and a glide vowel sometimes inserted between [ɪ] and [r], [ɹ], as in **cereal**, **serial** ['sɪəriəl], **hear** [hɪə], **hearing** ['hɪərɪŋ],

**pier**, **peer** [pɪəɪ], **tier**, **tear** [tɪəɪ]; but some speakers tend to preserve a clear [i]-sound in a few words, usually of learned character, as in **eery** ['iəri], **era** ['iərə], **query** ['kwɪəri], **series** ['siəriɪz] or ['siəriɪz]. So also **dreary**, **weary** are sometimes pronounced ['driəri], ['wiəri]. This glide vowel before [r], [ɹ] is often not present at all in American speech, and is in general much less marked as a characteristic of American than of British speech.

168. In **hero**, **Nero**, **zero** a clear [i]-vowel is generally maintained, giving ['hiːrə], ['niːrə], ['ziːrə], but many speakers lower the vowel to [ɪ], as in ['hɪrə], ['nɪrə], ['zɪrə].

[ɪ]

169. This is the short sound commonly current in **sit** [sɪt], **mission** ['mɪʃən], **timid** ['tɪmɪd], **ink** [ɪŋk], **rich** [rɪtʃ], etc. In stressed syllables it is generally written **i**, though also **y** in **lyric** ['lɪrɪk], **syllable** ['sɪləbl], **synagogue** ['sɪnəgəg], and some others.

170. For **i**, **y** followed by **r** and a vowel, the standard pronunciation is [ɪ], as in **dirigible** ['dɪrɪdʒɪbl], **miracle** ['mɪrəkl], **mirror** ['mɪrəɪ], **sirup**, **syrup** ['sɪrəp], **syringe** ['sɪrɪndʒ], also [sɪ'rɪndʒ], **tyranny** ['tɪrəni], **virile** ['vɪrɪl], also ['vaɪrɪl], exceptions to this rule being cases in which **i**, **y** is pronounced [aɪ], as in **gyrate**, **pirate**, **siren**, **tirade**, **tyrant**, **virile**, **virus**. On **i**, **y** followed by **r** and a vowel pronounced [ʌ], [ə] in popular speech, see § 201.

171. For **been** the normal pronunciation is [bɪn], though [bɪm] is sometimes heard as a precise or consciously cultivated pronunciation. For **breeches**, **breeching** the usual pronunciation is ['brɪtʃəz], ['brɪtʃɪŋ], but a spelling-



pronunciation [ˈbriɪtʃəz], [ˈbriɪtʃɪŋ] is sometimes cultivated. In **busy** [ˈbɪzi], **business** [ˈbɪznɪs], the spelling **u** is exceptional for [ɪ].

172. There is a distinctly audible difference between stressed and unstressed [ɪ], as, for example, in the two syllables of **pity**, **city**, which for lack of a separate symbol for each sound, we represent by [ˈpɪtɪ], [ˈsɪtɪ]. The same applies to initial unstressed syllables, as in **desist** [dɪˈzɪst], **begin** [bɪˈɡɪn], **initial** [ɪˈnɪʃəl], etc. The unstressed [ɪ] is more relaxed, as one would expect it to be, than stressed [ɪ], and in a phonetic transcription of greater precision than the one here employed, each sound would have its own symbol.

173. In unstressed syllables, this sound occurs for **a**, **e**, **i** and **u** of the conventional spelling, though usage in many words varies widely, some speakers pronouncing [ɪ], some [e] and some the obscure vowel [ə]:

(1) before the stressed syllable, as in **begin** [bɪˈɡɪn] or [bəˈɡɪn], **debate** [dɪˈbeɪt] or [dəˈbeɪt], **decide** [dɪˈsaɪd] or [dəˈsaɪd], **engage** [ɪnˈɡeɪdʒ] or [ənˈɡeɪdʒ], **except** [ɪkˈsept] or [əkˈsept], **elect** [ɪˈlekt], [eˈlekt] or [əˈlekt].

(2) after the stressed syllable, as in the preterites of verbs, **added** [ˈædɪd], [ˈædəd] or [ˈædəd]; **disgusted** [dɪsˈɡastɪd], [dɪsˈɡastəd] or [dɪsˈɡastəd]; in a variety of nouns and adjectives of different endings, as in **naked** [ˈneɪkɪd], [ˈneɪkəd] or [ˈneɪkəd]; **sonnet** [ˈsənɪt], [ˈsənət] or [ˈsənət]; **rabbit** [ˈræbɪt], [ˈræbət] or [ˈræbət]; **prelate** [ˈprelɪt] (very formally [ˈprelet]), [ˈprelet] or [ˈprelət]; **minute** (*noun*) [ˈmɪnɪt], [ˈmɪnət] or [ˈmɪnət]; **honest** [ˈʌnɪst], [ˈʌnət] or [ˈʌnət]; **lettuce** [ˈletɪs], [ˈletəs] or [ˈletəs]; **palace** [ˈpælɪs], [ˈpæləs] or [pæləs]; **goodness** [ˈɡʊdnɪs], [ˈɡʊdnəs] or

[ˈɡʊdnəs]; **riches** [ˈrɪtʃɪz], [ˈrɪtʃeɪz] or [ˈrɪtʃəz]; **poem** [ˈpoɪɪm], [ˈpoɪɛm] or [ˈpoɪəm]; **vowel** [ˈvaʊɪl], [ˈvaʊəl] or [ˈvaʊəl]; **college** [ˈkəlɪdʒ], [ˈkələdʒ] (very formally [ˈkələdʒ]); **courage** [ˈkʌrɪdʒ], [ˈkʌrədʒ]; **usage** [ˈjuːsɪdʒ], [ˈjuːsədʒ]; **damage** [ˈdæmɪdʒ], [ˈdæmədʒ]; **manage** [ˈmænɪdʒ], [ˈmænədʒ]; **orange** [ˈɒrɪndʒ], [ˈɒrəndʒ] or [ˈɒrəndʒ].

“Philadelphia, New York City, and some parts of the West and South,” says Grandgent,<sup>1</sup> often substitute [ə] for [ɪ] in final syllables, as in [ˈɡʊdnəs] for [ˈɡʊdnɪs], [ˈənəst] for [ˈənɪst], **I’ve got it** [aɪv ˈɡat ət] for [aɪv ˈɡat ɪt], [ˈpæləs] for [ˈpælɪs], but “in the rest of the country this pronunciation is regarded as extremely vulgar.” Tests which the writer has applied to speakers from regions here excepted show that the statement as to the vulgarity of [ə] in final syllables is exaggerated and does not now apply. Such pronunciations as [ˈpæləs], [ˈənəst] are current throughout the country, and cannot now be described as extremely vulgar by any standards generally accepted.

174. For **adobe**, **prairie** the standard pronunciation is [əˈdoɪbi], [ˈpreɪri]. For **Cincinnati** both [sɪnsəˈnæti] and [sɪnsəˈnætə] occur, the former being locally and generally the more common pronunciation. For final **a** [ə] pronounced [ɪ] in popular speech, see above, § 148. The desire to avoid this popular pronunciation of final **a** [ə] as [ɪ] at all hazards sometimes leads speakers to pronounce final [ə] when cultivated standard speech has [ɪ], and this probably explains a pronunciation like [sɪnsəˈnætə]. So also occasionally [mɪˈzʊrə] for standard **Missouri** [mɪˈzʊri], and even [ˈpreɪrə] for [ˈpreɪri] has been observed (Sturte-

<sup>1</sup> *Die Neuen Sprachen*, II, 449 (1895); see also *Dialect Notes*, I, 319-323 (1894).

vant, *Linguistic Change*, p. 83).<sup>1</sup> For **Ypsilanti** [ɪpsɪ-  
'læntɪ] occasionally [ɪpsɪ'læntə] is heard. It may be that  
the pronunciation of words like **Cincinnati**, **Missouri**,  
**Ypsilanti** has been affected by the analogy of many  
other place names like **Nebraska**, **Montana**, **Nevada**, etc.,  
which regularly have [ə] for the final vowel. Final un-  
stressed y, both in common and proper nouns, is always  
[ɪ], as in **heavy**, **busy**, **Albany**, **Schenectady**, etc.

175. For **jaundice** ['dʒəndɪs] the popular dialects often  
have ['dʒəndəɪz], ['dʒændəɪz]. For **Italian** popular speech  
commonly has [aɪ'tæljən], but standard speech only  
[ɪ'tæljən].

[o], [o·], [oɪ]

176. This vowel is heard as a short sound, sometimes  
as the stressed vowel of polysyllables, as in **locomotive**  
['ləkə'motɪv], **connotative** [kə'notətɪv], in unstressed  
syllables, as in **obedient** [o'bi:diənt], **approbation** [æpro-  
'beɪʃən], **yellow** ['jelə], **window** ['wɪndə], **piano** [pi'æno],  
and in secondarily stressed syllables when the vowel may  
be short or half-long, as in the compounds **dough-nut**  
['doʊ.nʌt], **tow-path** ['toʊ.pæθ], **go-cart** ['go.kɑrt], etc.  
On the weakening of unstressed [o] to [ə], see above, § 146.

177. When the sound is fully stressed and long, and  
especially when it is final, it tends to become diphthongal,  
starting with [o] and closing with [ʊ], as in **dough**, **doe**  
[doʊ], **toe**, **tow** [toʊ], **flow**, **floe** [floʊ], **château** [ʃæ'toʊ],  
etc. Before consonants, as in **rote**, **rode**, **roll**, etc., the  
diphthongal quality of the vowel is always less marked

<sup>1</sup> Though I am informed by Mr. F. L. Mott that ['preɪrə] is a  
pioneer pronunciation for **prairie**, in Iowa, in the speech of persons  
who cannot be supposed to have been influenced by refined analogies.

and often not present at all. This sound is much less diphthongal in American than in British speech. In the latter a great variety of diphthongal shadings occur, some of them familiar in the exaggerated representations of Englishmen and their speech on the American stage. In the speech of many, perhaps of most, Americans there is scarcely any trace of diphthongal quality in the sound, which may in most instances be represented simply as [oɪ] or [o·]. See § 218.

178. In substantive compounds with **pro-**, the prefix, when stressed, in some words is regularly pronounced [ˈpro-], as in **probate**, **proceeds**, **profile**, **programme**, **prolix** [ˈproliks] or [prəˈliks], **prologue**, **pronoun**, **protest**; in others, regularly [ɑ], or sometimes [ɔ], as in **problem**, **project**, **prophet**, **prospect**, **proverb**; and in still others, the pronunciation varies between [o] and [ɑ], the latter being the more general, as in **process**, **produce**, **product**, **progress**, **provost**.

179. For **sloth**, **slothful** the standard pronunciation is [slɒθ], [ˈslɒθfəl], but a variant pronunciation [sləʊθ], [ˈsləʊθfəl] is not infrequent. The pronunciation of **loam** in standard speech is [loɪm], but frequently [lu:m] in dialect speech. An archaic spelling **shew**, **shew-bread** is sometimes met with for [ʃo:], [ˈʃo:-ˈbrɛd]. The proper name **Polish** is [ˈpɒliʃ], following the analogy of **Pole** [pɒl], but the verb **polish** is [ˈpɒliʃ]. For **bowie-** in the compound **bowie-knife** both [ˈboɪ-] and [ˈbu:ɪ-] occur. The usual standard pronunciation for **shone** is [ʃɔɪn] or [ʃoun], but [ʃən], [ʃəm], even [ʃʌn] are occasionally heard. The pronunciation of **whole** as [hʌl] is dialectal.

180. In Eastern New England, a number of words which elsewhere have a long vowel are pronounced with

a short [ɔ]-vowel which is slightly more fronted than the ordinary vowel, giving a mid half-front tense rounded vowel. "This vowel is used by educated New England speakers in about fifty common words and their derivatives, and it certainly prevails in the cultivated usage of this region in **Polk**, **polka**, **whole**, and probably in **both**, **folks**, **Holmes**, **most**, **only**, and some others."<sup>1</sup>

## [ɔ]

181. This sound is a short vowel, and may be best observed in polysyllables, where it may be stressed, as in **auditory** [ˈɔdɪˈtɔri], **Audubon** [ˈɔdʊbən], or in unstressed syllables, as in **audacious** [ɔˈdeɪʃəs], **authentic** [ɔˈθentɪk], **automatic** [ɔtəˈmætɪk], etc.

182. It occurs also with some speakers in many syllables written **o**, as in **hot**, **not**, **nod**, **log**, **soft**, **moss**, **on**, etc., or **a** after **w**, as in **water**, **watch**, etc., but usage varies in the value which it gives to the vowel in these words, see above, §§ 110, 111, and the vowel also varies in length from short to half-long or long, in some words, as in **soft** [sɔft], **moss** [mɔs], **dog** [dɔg], etc., pronounced also [sɔɪft], [mɔɪs], [dɔɪg], or even dragged out in popular speech until they are over-long.

183. In words written **o** before [ŋ], the customary pronunciation is [ɔ], as in **long** [lɔŋ], **song** [sɔŋ], **throng** [θrɔŋ], **wrong** [rɔŋ], but occasional speakers have [ɑ] instead of [ɔ]. The pronunciation [lɔŋ], [sɔŋ], [θrɔŋ], [rɔŋ], etc., is heard only in dialect speech.

<sup>1</sup> Grandgent, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. VII (New Series), p. 217 (1899). This vowel is dialectally common in Eastern New England in many words like **road**, **coat**, **boat**, **colt**, **post**, etc.



**184.** For **squalor** the usual pronunciation is ['skwələ], though ['skweɪlə] is sometimes heard. For **swollen** the common form is ['swələ], but very frequently also ['swɒlə].

[ɔ:]

**185.** This sound occurs in many syllables under full stress, as in **law** [lə:], **draw** [drə:], **taut**, **taught** [tɔ:t], **thought** [θɔ:t], **talk** [tɔ:k], **naught** [nɔ:t], **all** [ɔ:l], **salt** [sɔ:lt], **fault** [fɔ:lt], **Paul** [pɔ:l], etc.; also in dissyllables like **augur** ['ɔ:ɡə], **aural** ['ɔ:rəl], **author** ['ɔ:θə], **audit** ['ɔ:ɪt]; and in compounds, like **strawberry** ['strɔ·beri], **chalk-line** ['tʃɔ·k'lain], in which the vowel may be long or half-long. On the organic difference between [ɔ] and [ɔ:], see above, §§ 62, 63.

For **sauce** (*noun*), **saucy** the standard pronunciation is [sɔ:s], ['sɔ:si], but in the sense 'impertinent speech,' 'impertinent,' popular pronunciation commonly has [sæs], ['sæsi].

**186.** In words of the type of **daunt**, **flaunt**, **gaunt**, **gauntlet**, **haunt**, **launch**, **taunt**, the common pronunciation is [dɔnt], [flɔnt], [ɡɔnt], etc., but some speakers say [dɑnt], [flɑnt], [ɡɑnt], and for some words, as in [hænt], [læntʃ], a pronunciation with [æ] or [æ:] is current in dialect speech. For **laundry** the current pronunciation is ['ləʊndri], with an occasional variant pronunciation ['lɑ:ndri]. For **Laura** the usual pronunciation is ['ləʊrə], but also sometimes ['lɑ:rə].

**187.** The pronunciation of **caught**, **bought**, **talk**, **taught**, etc., with [ɑ] or [ɑ:], is current in some regions locally, but is not heard in standard cultivated English. So also the pronunciations ['dɑ:tə], ['slɑ:tə] for **daughter** ['dɔ:tə], **slaughter** ['slɔ:tə] are provincialisms.

188. A number of Indian proper names, in secondarily stressed syllables written **aw**, **ah**, **a**, have [əɪ], as in **Choctaw** [ˈtʃəkˈtəɪ], **Kenesaw** [ˈkenəˈsəɪ], **Utah** [ˈjuˈtəɪ], **Altamaha** [ˈæltəməˈhəɪ], **Omaha** [ˈoməˈhəɪ], **Ottawa** [ˈətəˈwəɪ], etc.

189. Before [ɪ] followed by a consonant, when the [ɪ] is not pronounced, **o** is pronounced [əɪ], as in **corn** [kəɪn], **force** [fəɪs], **port** [pəɪt], etc. But the pronunciation [həɪs] for **horse**, spelled *hoss* in dialect stories, is commonly regarded as illiterate and dialectal, though here, as in many instances, it is really the visual and not the audible form of the word that is objected to. When the [ɪ] is pronounced the preceding vowel is only half-long or short.

190. Before [r] followed by a vowel, the usual pronunciation of **o** is [ɔː] or [əɪ], as in **glory** [ˈglɔːrɪ], **story** [ˈstɔːrɪ], **tory** [ˈtɔːrɪ], **oral** [ˈɔːrəl], not distinguished in pronunciation from **aural**, **moral** [ˈmɔːrəl]. But some speakers, retaining an older pronunciation probably under the influence of spelling, in at least some of these words have [oː] or [oɪ], as in **glory** [ˈglɔːrɪ], **story** [ˈstɔːrɪ], **tory** [ˈtɔːrɪ], **oral** [ˈoːrəl], etc.

191. Before [ɪ] final, **o** (**ou**, **oo**, **oa**) is pronounced [əɪ] or [əɪ], as in **store** [stɔːɪ], **more** [mɔːɪ], **pore**, **pour** [pɔːɪ], **fore**, **four**, **for** [fɔːɪ], **door** [dɔːɪ], **floor** [flɔːɪ], **roar** [rɔːɪ], **sore**, **soar** [sɔːɪ]. See § 197. These words might be written also [ˈstɔːəɪ], etc., though with most speakers the glide vowel is very slight.

The preposition **for** is often [fəɪ] in rapid speech, written *fur* in dialect stories.

[u], [uː]

192. This sound is of wide occurrence, both as long and short. As a long, it tends to become diphthongal,

[uu], but this pronunciation for what is commonly [u:] is not general enough in American speech to call for frequent representation. The quantity of the sound varies according to its surrounding from short to half-long and long. Instances of [u] occur in polysyllables like **re-crudescence** [rikru'desəns], **altruistic** [æltru'istik], **absolutely** ['æbsə'lutli], also ['æbsə'ljutli], **Lusitania** [lusɪ'te-njə], etc. When the sound is long it is commonly represented in conventional spelling by **oo**, as in **boot** [bu:t], **cool** [ku:l], **soon** [su:n], **spool** [spu:l], but also **ou**, as in **group** [gru:p], **soup** [su:p], **troupe** [tru:p]; **u**, as in **dune** [du:n], **lunar** ['lu:nə], **rule** [ru:l], **rune** [ru:n]; **o**, as in **do** [du:], **to** [tu:]; **ui** as in **bruit** [bru:t], **fruit** [fru:t], **suit** [su:t], also [sju:t], etc.

193. In some words usage varies widely between [u] and [u:], the resulting groups being very unsystematic. All speakers say **goose** [gu:s], **mood** [mu:d], **moon** [mu:n], for example, and all say **book** [buk], **foot** [fʊt], **good** [gʊd], **shook** [ʃʊk], **stood** [stʊd]. But in the following words, which is not an exhaustive list, usage varies between [u], long or short, and [u:], and in popular use, one or two words have [ʌ]: **aloof**, **butcher**, **boot**, **broom**, **coop**, **Cooper**, **food**, **groom**, **hoof**, **hoop**, **Hooper**, **nook**, **proof**, **rood**, **roof**, **rook**, **room**, **rooster**, **root**, **soon**, **soot**, **spook**, **spoon**, **woof**.<sup>1</sup>

Of these words, according to the writer's observation, the following prevailingly have [u:]: **aloof**, **boot**, **broom**, **food**, **groom**, **proof**, **roof**, **rood**, **room**, **rooster**, **root**, **soon**, **spook**, **spoon**, **woof**; the following prevailingly have [u]:

<sup>1</sup> The first two words in this list are included on the authority of Grandgent, *Die Neueren Sprachen*, II, 457, but for **aloof** the writer has heard only [ə'lu:f], and for **butcher** only ['bʊtʃə], or ['bu:tʃə] so rarely that this form of the word seems scarcely to be regarded as a current American pronunciation.

**butcher, coop, Cooper, hoof, hoop, Hooper, nook, rook, soot** (also in popular pronunciation [sæt]).

The pronunciations **boot** [bʊt], **broom** [brʊm], **food** [fʊd], **soon** [sʊn], **spoon** [spʊn], etc., for words in the first group must be characterized as local or provincial, but **coop** [ku:p], **Cooper** ['ku:pə], **hoof** [hu:f], **hoop** [hu:p], etc., for words in the second group, are supported by the usage of many cultivated speakers, whose pronunciation is probably influenced to some extent by the spelling.

On the differences of usage between [u:] and [ju], see §§ 229–231.

194. For **acoustic** both [ə'ku:stɪk] and [ə'kɑ:stɪk] are in common use, the former being perhaps the more general. For **bouquet** the standard pronunciation is [bu'keɪ], the pronunciation [bo'keɪ] or ['bo:'keɪ] being old-fashioned or rustic. For **brooch** both [bru:tʃ] and [bro:tʃ] occur. For **route** [ru:t], **tour** [tu:ɹ], [tu:əɹ], **wound** [waʊnd], the popular dialects often have [raʊt], [taʊəɹ], [waʊnd]. The spelling of **zoology**, aided by the abbreviation **Zoo**, results sometimes in a pronunciation [zu'ælədʒɪ], the standard pronunciation being [zo'ælədʒɪ].

[ʊ]

195. This is normally only a short vowel and is commonly written **u** in the conventional alphabet, as in **bull** [bʊl], **bush** [bʊʃ], **cushion** ['kʊʃən], **full** [fʊl], **put** [pʊt], as a term in golf pronounced [pʌt], **tulle** [tʊl], etc. For **supple** the usual pronunciation is ['sʌpl], but ['sʊpl] occurs commonly in dialect speech and occasionally in cultivated speech. For **brusque** both [brʊsk] and [brʌsk] are current, with the preference in favor of [brʊsk]. For **fulsome** the usual pronunciation is ['fʊlsəm], but ['fʌlsəm] is also countenanced by usage.

196. This sound appears also in words written **u** before **r**, as in **lure** [lʊɹ] or [lʊəɹ], **sure** [ʃʊɹ] or [ʃʊəɹ], **pure** [pjʊɹ] or [pjʊəɹ], **cure** [kjʊɹ] or [kjʊəɹ], **endure** [ɪn'dʒʊɹ] or [ɪn'dʒʊəɹ], **rural** ['rʊrəl], **fury** ['fjʊɹɪ], **jury** ['dʒʊɹɪ]; written **ou** in **your** [jʊɹ] or [jʊəɹ], when unstressed [jəɹ]; written **oo** in **poor** [pʊɹ] or [pʊəɹ], **moor** [mʊɹ] or [mʊəɹ], **boor** [bʊɹ] or [bʊəɹ].

The glide vowel in these words is always very slight in standard speech, though more apparent before [ɹ] final than before [r] followed by a vowel. Pronunciations like ['rʊəɹəl], ['fjʊəɹɪ], ['dʒʊəɹɪ] are general in British pronunciation but rare in America.

197. For **your**, **poor**, **moor**, **boor**, a pronunciation [jəɹəɹ], [pəɹəɹ], [məɹəɹ], [bəɹəɹ], riming with **yore**, **pore**, **more**, **bore**, with [ɹ] omitted of course in some dialects, is current in localities but not in standard American pronunciation. As a proper name **Moore** is pronounced [mʊəɹ], and when pronounced [məɹəɹ] it is written **More**. For **door**, **floor**, however, the only current pronunciations are [dɔɹ], [dɔəɹ], [flɔɹ], [flɔəɹ]. See § 191.

### [ʌ]

198. This sound is commonly written **u** in the conventional spelling, as in **but** [bat], **buzz** [baz], **cunning** ['kʌnɪŋ], **cup** [kʌp], **husband** ['hʌzbənd], etc., but frequently also **o**, as in **come** [kʌm], **done** [dʌn], **money** ['mʌni], **some** [sʌm], and **ou**, as in **couple** ['kʌpl], **cousin** ['kʌzɪn], ['kʌzn], **double** ['dʌbl], **enough** [ɪ'nʌf], **trouble** ['trʌbl], **slough** [slʌf], **tough** [tʌf], etc.

199. For **u** before **r** followed by a vowel, the standard pronunciation is [ʌ], as in **burrow** ['bʌro], **hurry** ['hʌri],



**turret** ['tʌrɪt], **scurry** ['skʌrɪ]; also **o** with the value of [ʌ], as in **borough** ['bʌrɒ], **thorough** ['θʌrɒ]; and **ou** with the value of [ʌ], as in **courage** ['kʌrɪdʒ], **nourish** ['nʌrɪʃ], **flourish** ['flʌrɪʃ], etc. With some speakers there is a tendency to pronounce the vowel [ə] in these combinations, that is, to pronounce **burrow**, **borough**, **hurry**, **turret**, etc., as ['bərə], ['həri], ['təri], etc., but this pronunciation is not often heard in cultivated speech. To make the difference clear, pronounce first the monosyllable **her**, then add a second syllable [ɪ] without changing the phonetic form of the first syllable, and finally substitute for [ə] in the stressed syllable the vowel [ʌ] as in **cut**, etc.

200. The standard pronunciation of **bury** is ['beri], see § 136. For **foreign** ['fəri], a form ['fʌri] is sometimes heard in dialect pronunciation.

201. For **e** [ɛ], **i**, **y** [ɪ] before [r] followed by a vowel, standard English has [ɛ], [ɪ], see §§ 135, 170, but for these vowels dialect pronunciation often has [ʌ], **merry**, **very**, **terrible**, **American**, **bury** being pronounced ['mʌri], ['vʌri], ['tʌrɪbl], [ə'mʌrɪkən], ['bʌri], and **miracle**, **squirrel**, **stirrup**, **syrup**, **Syracuse** being pronounced ['mʌrəkl], ['skwərəl], ['stʌrəp], ['sʌrəp], ['sʌrə'kjʊs]. But usage in this latter group is not altogether uniform, and though perhaps no cultivated speaker ever says ['mʌrəkl], many cultivated speakers do say ['sʌrəp], ['stʌrəp], ['skwərəl]. In words of this type, [ə] may also be heard in the popular dialects.

202. In **constable**, **conjure**, **monger**, **mongrel**, and some other words written **o** before **n**, both ['kʌnstəbl], ['kʌndʒə], ['mʌŋgə], ['mʌŋgrəl] and ['kʌnstəbl], ['kʌndʒə], ['mʌŋgə], ['mʌŋgrəl] are in good use, the latter being the more general.

203. For **com-** in **combat** and derivatives, American usage almost universally has [kəm-] or [kam-], but occasionally [kām-], as in British pronunciation. But **company**, **compass** are always ['kəmpəni], ['kəmpəs].

204. For **bombard**, **bombast**, ['bām'bɑ:d], ['bām'bəst] are current British pronunciations, but in America the words are commonly ['bɒm'bɑ:ɪd], ['bɒm'bæst]. The general pronunciation of **bomb** in America is [bɒm], see § 111.

205. For **just**, **such**, [dʒʌst], [sətʃ], the popular speech often has [dʒɪst], [dʒɛst], [sɪtʃ], [setʃ].

#### [ʌ:]

206. This sound is heard only in the pronunciation of speakers who do not sound [ɹ] in the final position and before consonants. It is heard only in stressed syllables, words like **never** ['nevə], **better** ['betə], **butter** ['batə] ending simply in [ə] when the final consonant is not pronounced. It is a normal vowel, formed with the point of the tongue touching the roots of the lower teeth, and it should be clearly distinguished from [ə]. It occurs finally in words like **fur**, **fir** [fʌ:], **infer** [ɪn'fʌ:], **cur** [kʌ:], **spur** [spʌ:], **purr** [pʌ:], **myrrh** [mʌ:], and medially in **turn** [tʌɪn], **fern** [fʌɪn], **furl** [fʌ:l], **whirl** [wʌ:l], **dirt** [dʌ:ɪt], **shirt** [ʃʌ:ɪt], **worth** [wʌ:θ], **certain** ['sɛɪɪn], and similar words. When **r** final is not pronounced, it sometimes leaves a trace of its existence as a weak [ə], as in [fʌ:ə], [kʌ:ə], etc. This weak [ə] may be regarded as the survival of a glide vowel before [ɹ], therefore similar in character to the unstressed end vowel of **never** ['nevə], etc.

Since the vowel [ʌ:] occurs only in the speech of persons who do not sound **r** in the final position and before consonants, it does not appear generally in American speech,

but only in certain forms of what is called loosely "Eastern pronunciation." To most other speakers, pronunciations like **fur**, **fir** [fʌ:], **cur** [kʌ:], etc., seem either local or affected.

[eɪ]

207. The vowel [e] when prolonged tends to diphthongize into [eɪ], especially when the vowel is final, as in **hay** [heɪ], **grey**, **gray** [greɪ], **weigh** [weɪ], etc. In standard American speech the first element of this diphthong is a clear [e]-vowel, but some speakers tend to lower the first element to [ɛ], and this latter seems to be the accepted standard pronunciation in England (see Jones, *Pronunciation of English*, § 117). It follows that the diphthongal quality of the sound is more marked in British than in American pronunciation, since the glide from [ɛ] to [ɪ] is greater than from [e] to [ɪ]. In fact, with many American speakers the sound is not diphthongal at all, being merely [e·] or [e:], except when it is unusually emphatic and long at the end of a word, in which case it becomes [eɪ] with practically all speakers.

[ɪi]

208. This diphthong is not general in American speech, but it occurs occasionally in full stressed monosyllables which end with the vowel or in monosyllables in which the vowel stands before a voiced consonant. Thus for **sea**, **see** [si:] one sometimes hears a diphthongal pronunciation [siɪ], especially when the word is emphatic. Compare also **seat** [si:t] with **seed** [siɪd] or [sɪɪd], **freak** [fri:k] with **league** [li:g] or [liɪg], **fleece** [fli:s] with **freeze** [fri:z] or [friɪz]. But the diphthongal quality of this sound is always so slight that it is scarcely worth while to record it.

## [aɪ]

209. This sound is represented in the conventional spelling in a variety of ways, as in **rite**, **right**, **write** [raɪt], **lie**, **lye** [laɪ], **sky** [skaɪ], **deny** [dɪ'naɪ], **guy** [gaɪ]. When exceptionally emphatic it may become [ai].

210. The pronunciation of **lichen** is ['laɪkən] or ['lɪtʃən], most commonly the former. For **sacrifice** the usual pronunciation is ['sækri'faɪs], sometimes ['sækri'faɪz], but only very rarely ['sækri'fɪs]. For **bison** the common pronunciation is ['baɪzn], though ['bɪsn], ['baɪsn] are current forms in England. For **dynasty** both ['daɪ-næsti] and ['dɪnæsti] occur, the former being the more general. The pronunciation [fə'raɪnə] for **farina** [fə'ri:nə] is British but not American usage.

211. The word **roil**, 'to make turbid,' is obsolete in England, but generally current in America. It has two pronunciations, the more familiar being [raɪl], especially in the metaphorical sense of the word, 'to vex,' 'to anger.' In this sense the word may also be spelled **rile**. Popularly **roil** is always pronounced [raɪl], as the diphthong **oi** regularly was in the eighteenth century, and still is by some old-fashioned folk, as in **spoil** [spɔɪl], **boil** [baɪl], **join** [dʒɔɪn], etc. In conventional cultivated use, however, a spelling pronunciation, [rɔɪl], has largely supplanted the older [raɪl].

212. In words ending in **-ile**, as in **servile**, **febrile**, **tactile**, **reptile**, **hostile**, the general tendency in America is to pronounce the last syllable as [-ɪl], and so always in **agile**, **fragile**. In England the reverse is true, a pronunciation like ['ædʒɪl] being characterized by Michaelis-

Jones, *Phonetic Dictionary*, p. 11, as dialectal. Usage is not uniform, however, in America, and some speakers say ['sæɹ'vaɪl], ['hæs'taɪl], ['həs'taɪl], ['rɛp'taɪl], etc. The pronunciation of **gentile** is always ['dʒɛn'taɪl], to keep the word etymologically distinct from **gentle**.

213. For **quinine** several pronunciations are current, perhaps the most common being ['kwɑɹ'nɑɪn], but also [kwɪ'nɑɪn], [kwɪ'nɪn], [kɪ'nɪn].

214. For **cowardice**, **favorite**, **genuine** the standard pronunciation is ['kɑʊədɪs], ['fɛɪvərɪt], ['dʒɛnjuɪn], particularly often ['kɑʊər'daɪs], ['fɛɪvər'aɪt], ['dʒɛnju'aɪn]; but ['kɑʊər'daɪs] the writer has observed occasionally also in cultivated speech.

215. Some speakers, especially family groups, have [aɪ] for the first element of this diphthong, giving [aɪ], as in **pile** [paɪl], **mine** [maɪn], **kind** [kaɪnd], and producing what most persons regard as a rather 'mushy' pronunciation. The second element of the diphthong is likely to become [ə], also, in this pronunciation.

216. For [aɪ] sometimes [əɪ] is heard, as in **fine** [fəɪn], **time** [təɪm], but only in dialect and provincial speech. It is probably this sound which writers of dialect stories have in mind when they spell **fine**, **time** as *foin*, *toim*, etc.

217. Occasionally one hears from the older generation, pronunciation like **kind** [kɪ'aɪnd], **sky** [skɪ'aɪ], with a slight [ɪ] glide vowel between the consonant and the diphthong. This was formerly a fashionable pronunciation (see Webster, *Dissertations*, p. 109), but has now almost completely disappeared. See § 123.



[ou]

218. For this diphthong, see §§ 74, 177.

Normally in American speech the first element of this diphthong when it occurs is a clear [o]-vowel, but some speakers pronounce a sound very similar to [ʌ], as in **know** [nʌʊ], **go** [gʌʊ], and also prolong the second element of the diphthong. In American speech the diphthongal quality of the sound is likely to be less marked than in British speech. The diphthong also assumes a greater variety of forms in British than in American speech, and Jones records all of the following variants as current in London, [ou], [ɔʊ], [ʌʊ], [əʊ], [ɑʊ], [aʊ] (*Pronunciation of English*, § 152). He remarks that "In the best speaking care should be taken to round the lips properly in pronouncing [ou], and not to exaggerate the diphthongization," § 154. Neither caution is urgently applicable to American speech.

219. Both [o] and [ʊ] are rounded vowels, the former a mid back tense vowel, the latter a high back slack vowel, and the change in organic position in the glide from [o] to [ʊ] is not very great. Examples of words which are likely to be pronounced as diphthongs are **so**, **sow**, **sew** [sou], **though** [ðou], **know** [nou], **roll** [roul], **oath** [ouθ], **rose** [rouz], etc. But all such words are often pronounced simply with [oi].

220. In unstressed or secondarily stressed syllables, as in **thorough** [ˈθʌro], **borough**, **burrow** [ˈbʌro], **fellow** [ˈfelo], **window** [ˈwindo], **sorrow** [ˈsaro], **piano** [prɪˈæno], etc., the vowel is scarcely ever diphthongal, and in popular speech often weakens to [ə]. The pronunciation [ˈbaro] or [ˈbarou] for **borough** is marked as dialectal by

Michaelis-Jones, *Phonetic Dictionary*, p. 47, for the British standard form [ˈbærə]; so also with **thorough**, see p. 423. But [ˈbærɒ], [ˈθærɒ] are current cultivated pronunciations in America, as well as [ˈbærə], [ˈbærə], the former perhaps even to be preferred.

[ʊu]

221. For this diphthong, see § 76.

[au]

222. This is the common diphthong **ou**, **ow** of **house** [haʊs], **cow** [kaʊ]; **ough** of **slough** [slaʊ], ‘a swamp’ (**slough**, ‘to cast off,’ ‘the cast skin of a snake,’ is pronounced [slaʃ]), **bough** [baʊ]; **au** in some words of foreign origin, as in **aurochs** [ˈaʊərˈɒks], **Augean** [aʊˈdʒiən], **Faust** [faʊst]. For **slough** a spelling **slew**, **slue**, **sloo**, and a corresponding pronunciation [slu:], are current in the Western States.

223. In several regions of the Atlantic seaboard, a triphthong appears in this sound when preceded by [k], [g], as in **cow** [kɪˈaʊ], **count** [kɪˈaʊnt], **gout** [gɪˈaʊt], but this pronunciation is distinctly local and dialectal.

224. The recognized pronunciation of **jowl** is [dʒaʊl], but [dʒo:l] is sometimes heard, perhaps on the analogy of the more familiar word **bowl**, though the analogy of **howl** would seem to be just as strong in the other direction. The word **jowl**, however, is not in general popular use, and for that reason has not acquired an established pronunciation.

225. The same is true of archaic forms like **enow**, a variant of **enough**, and **trow**, for which both [ɪˈnaʊ],

[traʊ] and [i'noʊ], [troʊ] are found as rimes in verse, where the words chiefly occur. When **enow** appears in the proper name, spelled **Goodnow**, **Goodenow**, **Goode-nough**, it is pronounced [ˈɡʊd'noʊ], [ˈɡʊdə'noʊ].

226. For **blouse** the usual pronunciation is [blaʊz], but a more or less fashionable pronunciation (*milliner's French*), [bluɪz], is sometimes affected. The final consonant may also be voiceless, as in [blaʊs].

227. In British pronunciation the first element of this diphthong is very commonly [a], as in **round** [raʊnd], **gown** [gaʊn], **renown** [ri'naʊn], etc., and this pronunciation is sometimes heard in America, though far less frequently than [aʊ]. In New England and in the Southern States the first element of the diphthong is often pronounced [æ], as in **hound** [hæʊnd], **out** [æʊt], but this pronunciation is heard in cultivated speech only as a Southernism.

[ɔɪ]

228. This diphthong is conventionally written **oi**, **oy**, as in **boil** [bɔɪl], **toy** [tɔɪ], also **uoy** in **buoy** [bɔɪ], **buoyant** [ˈbɔɪjənt]. A spelling-pronunciation [bʊɪ], [ˈbʊɪjənt] is sometimes heard for **buoy**, **buoyant**, but is not general. The eighteenth century pronunciation of this diphthong was [aɪ], and this pronunciation still lingers among some old-fashioned and rustic speakers in words like **boil** [baɪl], **join** [dʒaɪn], and persists generally in the somewhat colloquial word **roil**, **rile** [raɪl], see § 211.

[ju], [juː]

229. This is a rising diphthong, the first element being slightly stressed, the second element stressed and usually

prolonged. On the consonantal quality of the first element, see §§ 25, 78. The diphthong is the sound commonly known as 'long u,' and is written in the ordinary spelling **u**, as in **music** ['mju:zɪk], **musician** [mju:'ziʃən], **use** [ju:s], [ju:z]; **ew**, as in **few** [fju:], **new** [nju:]; **eau**, as in **beauty** ['bju:tɪ]. In the initial position and after lip consonants, usage uniformly has the sound [ju] for orthographic long **u** and its equivalents, as in **use** [ju:s], [ju:z], **rebuke** [rɪ'bju:k], **butte** [bju:t], **fusion** ['fju:ʒən], **mule** [mju:l], **view** [vju:], etc. The combination **sp** is followed by [ju] the same as **p**, as in **spurious** ['spju:riəs], **spume** ['spju:m].

230. Before **r**, the second element of the diphthong is likely to be lowered to [ʊ], e.g., **pure**, pronounced [pjʊr] or [pjʊɹ], **cure** [kjʊr] or [kjʊɹ], etc. When the **r** is not pronounced, a slight [ə]-vowel may take its place; when it is pronounced, a glide vowel [ə] may be heard before the consonant.

231. After [l] and [r] the diphthong is rarely heard except in precise speech, the current pronunciation being [u:], as in **lute** [lu:t], **Lucy** ['lu:si], **Luke** [lu:k], **rule** [ru:l], **rude** [ru:d], **rune** [ru:n], **ruse** [ru:z].

After [d], [t], [θ], [n], [s], usage varies widely, some speakers pronouncing **duty** ['dju:tɪ], **tube** [tju:b], **enthusiasm** [en'θju:ziæzm], **nude** [nju:d], **new** [nju:], **suit** [sju:t], and others [dʊtɪ], [tʊ:b], etc. The dictionaries generally authorize only the first of these pronunciations after [d], [t], [θ], [n], [s], and academic authority is very likely to condemn the pronunciation [u:] as uncultivated, in spite of the fact that it occurs widely in the speech of educated and informed people. It has long been current

in America, as is evident from Noah Webster's defense of [u:] in *duty*, etc., as the best pronunciation.<sup>1</sup>

232. After [k], orthographic *u*, representing the long vowel, is regularly [ju:], as in *cube* [kju:ɪb], *cucumber* ['kju:ɪ'kʌmbəɪ], *cuneiform* ['kju:nɪə'fɔ:ɪm], *acute* [ə'kju:t], *culinary* ['kju:lə'nɛrɪ], also pronounced ['kʌlə'nɛrɪ]. The analogy of these words has affected *coupon* ['ku:pən], which in popular speech is often pronounced ['kju:pən].

233. After [g], the spelling *u* usually indicates merely the quality of the consonant, as in *guard* [gɑ:ɪd], *guess* [ges], and has no phonetic value, or it stands for a short vowel, as in *gun* [gʌn], *gush* [gʌʃ], etc. In *legume*, *leguminous*, *lugubrious*, *gubernatorial*, the vowel after *g* is usually [u:], rarely [ju:].

234. In unstressed syllables, [ju] of standard pronunciation is sometimes weakened in popular pronunciation, as in *accurate* ['ækjʊrɪt], pronounced ['ækərɪt], *sinew* ['sɪnju], pronounced ['sɪnu], *argue* ['ɑ:ɪgju], pronounced ['ɑ:ɪgɪ], *ague* ['e:ɪgju], written in dialect stories as *ager*, *value* ['vælju], written in dialect as *vally*, etc. The pronunciation ['fɪgəɪ] for *figure* is occasionally heard on the lips of cultivated speakers in America for standard ['fɪgjuɪ], but much less commonly than in England. Michaelis-Jones, *Phonetic Dictionary*, s. v., describes ['fɪgjuɪ] as dialectal in England. In rapid speech ['fɪgjuɪ] may become ['fɪgjəɪ].

<sup>1</sup> Webster, *Dissertations* (1789), pp. 153 ff. It seems to be less general in the South, than it is in New England, whence it has spread to all sections of the country.



## CONSONANTS

## [b]

235. This consonant is pronounced in essentially the same way in all positions. A **b** appears, however, in the conventional spelling of some words which has no phonetic value, (1) before **t**, as in **debt** [det], **doubt** [daʊt], **subtle** ['sʌtl], **subtly** ['sʌtlɪ]; (2) after **m**, as in **bomb** [bɒm] or [bʌm], **dumb** [dʌm], **climb** [klaɪm], **comb** [kɔɪm], **crumb** [krʌm], **jamb** [dʒæm], **lamb** [læm], **lambkin** ['læmkɪn], **numb** [nʌm], comparative degree **number** ['nʌmə], superlative **numbest** ['nʌməst], **aplomb** [ə'plɒm], **plumb** [plʌm], **plumber** ['plʌmə], **tomb** [tu:m].

236. When **m** is followed by **b** and a vowel, the **b** normally goes with the second syllable and is then pronounced, as in **limber** ['lɪmbə], **lumber** ['lʌmbə], **number** ['nʌmbə], **timber** ['tɪmbə], etc., except when the influence of a main form, in which the **m** is not pronounced, affects the pronunciation of derivatives, as in **climb** [klaɪm], **climbing** ['klaɪmɪŋ], **climber** ['klaɪmə], **plumb** [plʌm], **plumbing** ['plʌmɪŋ], **plumber** ['plʌmə], etc.

237. In the combination **mb**, [b] is always pronounced, as in **crumble** ['krʌmbəl], **humble** ['hʌmbəl], **nimble** ['nɪmbəl], **thimble** ['θɪmbəl], **tremble** ['trɛmbəl], etc.

238. In **rhomb** [rɒmb] a learned pronunciation with [b] is sometimes heard, due to the influence of spelling, and in **iamb** ['aɪ'æmb], also a learned word, the pronunciation with [b] is general. In **cupboard**, **p** has been assimilated to **b** which remains as a short consonant, ['kʌbərd]. In the proper name **Jacob**, the final consonant

very generally becomes voiceless, the word being pronounced [ˈdʒeɪkəp]; so also in **Jacobs, Jacobson**.

[d]

**239.** The pronunciation of **d** of the conventional spelling remains uniform, except as the sound is affected by assimilation to neighboring sounds. Immediately after a voiceless consonant, [d] is regularly assimilated, becoming also voiceless, as in **backed** [bækt], **baked** [beɪkt], **sniffed** [snɪft], **hissed** [hɪst], **flapped** [flæpt], **wished** [wɪʃt], **frothed** [frɒθt], etc.

**240.** The reverse process may sometimes be observed in relaxed and slovenly speech, that is, a voiceless [t] in voiced surrounding becomes voiced, as in **belated** [biˈleɪtəd], pronounced [biˈleɪdəd]; **rated** [ˈreɪtəd], scarcely distinguished in pronunciation from **raided** [ˈreɪdəd]; **fitted** [ˈfɪtəd], pronounced [ˈfɪdəd]. In popular speech **putty** is frequently pronounced [ˈpʌdɪ], and in some dialects **water** becomes [ˈwɒdə], **letter** becomes [ˈlədə], **bitter** becomes [ˈbɪdə], etc., see § 14.

**241.** After [l] and [n], where according to rule one expects to find a voiced [d], in some words forms with both [d] and [t] exist, and the latter pronunciation is sometimes represented by **t** in the conventional spelling, as in **learned, learnt**, [lənd], [lənt], as participial adjective [ˈlənməd]; **burned, burnt**, [bænd], [bənt]; **spoiled, spoilt**, [spɔɪld], [spɔɪlt]; **spelled, spelt**, [speld], [spelt]; **spilled, spilt**, [spɪld], [spɪlt]. Usage is arbitrary in pronunciations of this type. One may say [spɪlt] for **spilled**, but not [kɪlt] for **killed**, except in dialect Irish-English, where pronunciations with [t] are found in many preterites and past participles which have only [d] in standard English.

242. For **used**, in the sense of 'employ,' 'make use of,' the common pronunciation is [ju:zɪd], but for **used**, 'to be accustomed to,' a widely current pronunciation is [ju:st], when the final consonant [d] is assimilated to the [t] of the sign of the infinitive which in most instances follows the word. In a phrase like **I used to go** [aɪ 'ju:stə 'ɡoʊ], there is of course only one [t], to which the preceding consonant has also been assimilated, [z] becoming [s]. A like assimilation is common in **I had to go** [aɪ 'hætə 'ɡoʊ] or [aɪ 'hætɪə 'ɡoʊ].

243. After [n], in standard familiar speech [d] before a consonant is frequently omitted, as in **grandmother** ['græn'mʌðə]; **handkerchief** ['hæŋkətʃɪf], or following the general tendency in the pronunciation of [n] before [k], see § 289, ['hæŋkətʃɪf]; **handsome** ['hænsəm]; **Windsor** ['wɪnzə]; **brand-new**, also spelled **bran-new** ['bræn:'ju:]. Unemphatic **and** frequently becomes merely [n], as in **time and tide** [taɪm n taɪd], **good and hot** [ɡʊd n hɒt], etc. These pronunciations may be heard from cultivated speakers, but usage does not countenance this omission in all instances, pronunciations like **band-box** ['bænd'bɒks], **landlady** ['lænd'leɪdɪ], **landlord** ['lænd'lɔ:d], being heard only in careless or very rapid speech.

244. A similar omission of [d] takes place before [n] in **Wednesday** ['wenz'deɪ], ['wenzdɪ].

245. After [n] in stressed syllables, [d] is sometimes added in popular speech, as in [draʊnd] for **drown**, [ɡaʊnd] for **gown**.

246. In the combination **nge**, a [d] is commonly pronounced after [n], as in **angel** ['eɪndʒəl], **danger** ['deɪndʒəl],

**hinge** [hɪndʒ], **impinge** [ɪm'pɪndʒ], **strange** [streɪndʒ], etc., though some speakers pronounce such words without a [d], i.e., [ˈeɪnzəl], [ˈdeɪnzəl], etc. The pronunciation with [d] is to be preferred. The same is true of the combination **rge**, as in **barge** [bɑːrdʒ], **large** [lɑːrdʒ], **forge** [fɔːrdʒ], **urge** [ˈɜːrdʒ]; and **lge**, as in **bilge** [bɪldʒ], **bulge** [bʌldʒ], **indulge** [ɪn'dʌldʒ], and other words. See § 341.

## [g]

247. This sound varies considerably according to its vocalic surrounding, as may be observed by comparing **gig** [gɪg] with **gone** [gɒn], see § 21. No questions of propriety are raised by this variation, however, because all speakers instinctively make the adaptation necessary to fit the consonant to its surroundings.

248. A **g** of the conventional spelling is silent in a number of words before [m] and [n], as in **paradigm** [ˈpærədɪm], sometimes [ˈpærə'daɪm]; **phlegm** [flɛm], but **phlegmatic** always [flɛg'mætɪk]; **condign** [kən'daɪn]; **foreign** [ˈfɔːrɪn]; **impugn** [ɪm'pjʊn]; **reign** [reɪn]; **sovereign** [ˈsɒvrən]. For **poignant**, **poignancy** the usual pronunciations are [ˈpɔɪnənt], [ˈpɔɪnənsɪ], but through the influence of spelling, [ˈpɔɪgnənt], [ˈpɔɪgnənsɪ] are also sometimes heard. An initial **g** is silent in **gnarled** [ˈnɑːld], **gnash** [næʃ], **gnat** [næt], **gnaw** [nɔː], **gnome** [nɒm], **gnu** [nuː], **gnostic** [ˈnɒstɪk]. For **physiognomy** the usual pronunciation is [fɪzɪ'ɒgnəmi], but also sometimes [fɪzɪ'ənəmi].

249. The combination **ng** of the conventional spelling represents simply [ŋ] in pronunciation when final, as in **sing** [sɪŋ], **singing** [sɪŋɪŋ], **wrong** [rɒŋ], **tongue** [tʌŋ], **young** [jʌŋ], etc. But in the combination **ngl** [ŋgl], **ngr** [ŋgr] before vowels or when [l], [r] are syllabic, a [g] is retained,

as in **angle** ['æŋgəl]; **England** ['ɪŋglənd], **English** ['ɪŋɡlɪʃ], though some speakers say ['ɪŋlənd], ['ɪŋlɪʃ]; **Inggris** ['ɪŋɡrɪs], **Ingalls** ['ɪŋgəlz]; **single** ['sɪŋɡl]; **anger** ['æŋɡə], **angry** ['æŋɡrɪ]; **finger** ['fɪŋɡə], **linger** ['lɪŋɡə], **longer** ['lɒŋɡə]; **stronger** ['strɒŋɡə], **younger** ['jʌŋɡə], etc. In the superlatives **longest** ['lɒŋɡəst], **strongest** ['strɒŋɡəst], **youngest** ['jʌŋɡəst], the [g] is retained through the influence of the comparative with [ɹ]. On the other hand, words like **bringer** ['brɪŋə], **hanger** ['hæŋə], **ringer** ['rɪŋə], **singer** ['sɪŋə], **stringer** ['strɪŋə], etc., in which the same combination of letters occurs as in **linger**, etc., have no [g] because the derivative forms are influenced by head forms like **bring** [brɪŋ], **hang** [hæŋ], etc.

250. The combination **ngu**, when the **u** has phonetic value and is not silent as in **tongue**, **harangue**, is pronounced [ŋgw], as in **languid** ['læŋɡwɪd]; **language** ['læŋɡwɪdʒ]; **languish** ['læŋɡwɪʃ]; **lingual** ['lɪŋɡwəl], **linguist** ['lɪŋɡwɪst], and probably by attraction to **lingual**, etc., [ŋg] in **lingo** ['lɪŋɡo]. For **languor** all three pronunciations occur, ['læŋə], ['læŋɡə] and ['læŋɡwə], the first two being more general than the third.

251. For **recognizance**, 'a bond or pledge to keep the peace,' etc., the usual pronunciation is [rɪ'kəɡnɪzəns], less often [rɪ'kənɪzəns]. As a military term, meaning a preliminary examination of a region, the spelling is **reconnaissance**, pronounced [rɪ'kənɪsəns]. For **recognize** the only standard pronunciation is one with [g], as in ['rek-əɡ'nɑɪz], though one not infrequently hears ['rekənɑɪz] in rapid speech and, perhaps even more frequently, **recognition** pronounced [rekə'nɪʃən].

252. For **suffragan** the accepted pronunciation is ['sʌf-rəɡən], but the pronunciation of **suffrage** ['sʌfrɪdʒ] some-



times produces [ˈsafrɪdʒən] in the speech of persons to whom the word is mainly an eye-word.

**253.** The combination **gh** of the conventional spelling is always silent, as in **right** [raɪt], **freight** [freɪt], **sought** [sɔ:t], etc., except when it stands for [f], see § 357, or in a few words for [g], as in **ghostly**, **ghost**, **ghetto**.

### [h]

**254.** The main question that arises in connection with **h** is whether it is pronounced or whether it is silent. In America there is no group of speakers who add and omit [h] before vowels in the manner of the Cockney English, but in general whenever **h** appears in writing in stressed position, American speakers pronounce it. To this rule there are some exceptions, **heir**, **heiress**, **honor**, **honest**, **hour** never having an initial [h]. In **herb** and the proper names **Humphrey**, **Humphries**, the initial **h** is sometimes pronounced, sometimes not, the pronunciation without [h] being the more general. In **human**, **humble**, **humor** a pronunciation without [h] is almost never heard in America in the speech of cultivated persons, the phonetic forms of these words being [ˈhju:mən], [ˈhʌmbl], [ˈhju:mə]. But perhaps [ˈju:mə] should be recognized as an occasional cultivated pronunciation. In derivatives from **herb**, such as **herbage**, **herbalist**, **herbarium**, the initial consonant is always pronounced.

**255.** In unstressed syllables, initial [h] is sometimes lost. For **shepherd** and **forehead** the usual pronunciations are [ˈʃepərd] and [ˈfərəd] or [ˈfərɪd], though a spelling-pronunciation [ˈfərˈhed] is occasionally heard. For **vehement**, **vehicle** the standard pronunciations are [ˈviəmənt]

and ['vɪkl], though popular forms with [h] are not infrequent. When the [h] is pronounced in **vehement**, the stress is likely to be on the second syllable, [vɪ'hɪmənt].

256. In weak syllables [h] is sometimes dropped in standard speech in words which retain it when the syllable is stressed, as in **history** ['hɪstəri], **an historical novel** [æn ɪs'tɔrɪkl 'nɒvl]; **him** [hɪm], but **I saw him** [aɪ sə: ɪm]; **herald** ['herəld], but **an heraldic device** [æn ɛr'ældɪk dɪ'vaɪs].

257. In proper names compounded with **-ham**, [h] is sometimes lost, as in **Chatham** ['tʃætəm], **Graham** ['greɪəm], **Pelham** ['pələm], **Wyndham** ['wɪndəm], **Fordham** ['fɔrdəm], and in a great many other dissyllables like these. But in trisyllables the general tendency of American speech is to put a secondary stress on the third syllable, which thus maintains the full form of **-ham** in words like **Birmingham** ['bɜ:mɪŋ'hæm], **Buckingham** ['bʌkɪŋ'hæm], **Frothingham** ['frɔðɪŋ'hæm], **Wilbraham** ['wɪlbrə'hæm], locally pronounced ['wɪlbəɪ'hæm], etc. In **Waltham**, **Wrentham**, names of towns in Massachusetts, the **t** and **h** combine, giving ['rɛnθəm], and for **Waltham** ['wɒlθəm], with a heavy secondary stress. These are the local pronunciations, but persons to whom the words are merely eye-words would probably pronounce them ['rɛntəm] and ['wɒltəm].

258. After **x** [ks], [gz], **h** is normally not pronounced, as in **exhibit** [ɛg'zɪbɪt], **exhibition** [ɛksɪ'brɪʃən]; **exhaust** [ɪg'zɔ:st]; **exhort** [ɪg'zɔ:t], etc. Occasionally one hears **exhale** [ɛks'heɪl], **exhume** [ɛks'hju:m], where the [h] is pronounced in an effort to make the second elements of the words etymologically prominent.

## [j]

259. This sound is commonly written **y** in the ordinary alphabet, as in **yawl** [jəʊl], **yes** [jes], **yearn** [jərn], **youth** [juθ], etc. Words written with initial **u**, as in **use** [ju:s], **union** ['ju:njən], etc., have this sound as the first element of the so-called 'long u.' In internal position [j] appears in **companion** [kəm'pænjən], **onion** ['ʌnjən], **carrier** ['kæ-ri-jər], **collier** ['kɒli-jər] or ['kɒljər], etc. It is also occasionally heard in the speech of precise persons who try to avoid the sound [tʃ] generally current in words like **feature**, **nature**, etc., which are artificially pronounced [fɪtʃʊə], [nɛtʃʊə], etc.

260. The word **yeast** [ji:st] in popular speech often loses the initial consonant, becoming [i:st].

261. In illiterate speech, a pronunciation [kəl-jəm] for standard **column** ['kɒləm] is frequent.

262. For [j] in French and Italian words written **gn**, see § 285. The word **veille** is commonly pronounced [rɛvəli], though occasionally [rə'vei:jə]; **surveillance** is either [sə'vei:ləns] or [sə'vei:jəns]; **cotillon** is either [ko'tilən] or [ko'tiljən], but when the latter pronunciation is intended, the spelling is usually **cotillion**.

## [k]

263. The ordinary spellings for this sound are **k**, **c**, **ch**, **ck**, **qu** (with the value of [k] or [kw]), and **x** (with the value of [ks]), as in **king** [kɪŋ], **call** [kɔ:l], **chemist** ['kɛmɪst], **black** [blæk], **exchequer** [eks'tʃɛkə], **tax** [tæks]. In words written **cc** only one [k] is pronounced, as in **account** [ə'kaunt], **accuse** [ə'kju:z], etc. In **schism** [sɪzəm] and derivatives, **ch** is silent. For **schedule** the current pronun-

ciation in America is ['skɛdʒʊl], but ['ʃɛdʒʊl] is the more general pronunciation in England. The pronunciation of **cham** is [kæm], the word being an older variant form of **khan** [kɑm]. In **flaccid** ['flæksɪd], the first **c** represents [k], the second [s].

The spelling **ch** is silent in **drachm** [dræm] and **yacht** [jɑt].

**264.** In the combination **kn**, **k** is silent, except when preceded by a vowel with which it makes a syllable, as in **knowledge** ['nɒlɪdʒ], but **acknowledge** [æk'nɒlɪdʒ]; **knee** [ni:], **knight** [naɪt], etc.

**265.** Before [t], [k] is lost in **virtuals** ['vɪtlz], **indict** [ɪn'daɪt] and derivatives, likewise in **arctic** ['ɑ:ɪtɪk] in popular speech and not infrequently also in cultivated speech. The form ['ɑ:ɪtɪks] is commonly used as the name of a kind of over-shoes. In most words, however, [k] is regularly pronounced before [t], as in **convict** ['kɒnvɪkt], **deduct** [dɪ'dʌkt], **depict** [dɪ'pɪkt], **picked** [pɪkt]. For **Connecticut** the standard pronunciation is [kə'netɪkət].

**266.** No [k] appears in the combination **sc**, as in **muscle** ['mʌsl], **corpuscle** ['kɔ:ɪ'pʌsl]. For **corpuscle** a second spelling and pronunciation occur, **corpuscule** [kɔ:ɪ'pʌskjʊl], hence also **corpuscular** [kɔ:ɪ'pʌskjʊlə].

**267.** In the combination [ŋk] followed by another consonant, many somewhat careless speakers tend to omit [k], pronouncing **anxious** ['æŋkʃəs] as ['æŋʃəs]; **injunction** [ɪn'dʒʌŋktʃən] as [ɪn'dʒʌŋʃən]; **linked** [lɪŋkt] as [lɪŋt], etc. In the unstressed position this pronunciation is general, as in **anxiety** [æŋ'zæɪtɪ]; **punctilious** [pʌŋ'tɪlɪəs], but **punctual** ['pʌŋktʃʊəl]; **sanctimonious** [sæŋtɪ'mo:nɪəs], but **sanctify** ['sæŋktɪ'faɪ], etc.

268. In **blackguard** ['blæ'gɑ:d], **k** is silent, being assimilated to the following **g**.

269. The combination [ks], in unstressed position when followed by a voiced consonant or a vowel, generally becomes [gz], as in **exact** [ɛg'zækt], **exhibit** [ɛg'zɪbɪt], **exile** (*verb*) [ɛg'zail], **auxiliary** [ɔg'zɪlɪəri], **luxurious** [lʌg'ʒʊriəs].

270. Analogy operates in words of this type, however, a form like **axiom** ['æksɪəm], with [ks] under the stress, retaining this pronunciation in **axiomatic** [æksɪo'mætɪk], and **vex** [vɛks] preserving a voiceless consonant in **vexation** [vɛks'eɪʃən]. But [vɛg'zeɪʃən] is also heard, and under the influence of **luxurious**, a pronunciation ['lʌgʒəri] for **luxury** ['lʌkʒəri]. In the same way **exile** (*noun and adjective*) ['ɛgzail] is to be accounted for, by the side of ['ɛksail], the former being now the more common pronunciation of the word.

271. Under the stress and before voiceless consonants, [ks] generally remains, as in **exhibition** ['ɛksɪ'bɪʃən], **exigency** ['ɛksɪdʒənsɪ], **exit** ['ɛksɪt], **excellent** ['ɛksələnt], **expire** [ɛk'spaɪəri], **extreme** [ɛk'stri:m], **ecstatic** [ɛk'stætɪk], etc.

272. A [k] is often added in popular speech between [ŋ] and [θ], **length** [lɛŋθ], **strength** [strɛŋθ], and derivatives, being pronounced [lɛŋkθ], [strɛŋkθ], etc.

# [l]

273. An **l** of the ordinary spelling is silent before [k], as in **talk** [tɔ:k], **walk** [wɔ:k], **chalk** [tʃɔ:k], **caulk** [kɔ:k], **Falkland** ['fɔklənd], **folk** [fɔ:k], **yolk** [yo:k], when the



vowel preceding [k] is [o] or [ɔ]. After other vowels [l] is retained, as in **calculate** ['kælkju'le-t], in dialect speech also pronounced ['kæk-]; **elk** [ɛlk], **milk** [mɪlk], **hulk** [hʌlk]. In **Balkan** ['bɔ:lkən] the spelling has probably influenced the pronunciation (cf. **balk** [bɔ:lk], **balky** ['bɔ:ki], where the [l] is not pronounced), or the syllable division, which carries the [l] with the first syllable, causes it to be pronounced. In **falcon**, **falconry**, the l is always pronounced in American speech, probably because this is mainly a literary word and the spelling has thus been unusually influential.

274. Before **m** and after **a** [ɑ:], [æ], **o** [o:], an **l** of the ordinary spelling is silent, as in **balm** [bɑ:m], **calm** [kɑ:m], **alms** [ɑ:mz], **palm** [pɑ:m], **psalm** [sɑ:m], **qualm** [kwɑ:m], **salmon** ['sæmən] or ['sɑ:mən], **almond** ['ɑ:mənd] or ['æmənd], **holm** [hɔ:m], **Holmes** [hɔ:mz]. But **l** is pronounced after [ɛ], [ɪ], [ʌ], as in **helm** [hɛlm], **film** [fɪlm], **culm** [kʌlm], **Hulme** [hʌlm], and of course in words in which **m** goes with a succeeding vowel, as in **almanac**, **Palmyra**, **calmative**, a medical term derived from **calm**, etc. In a word like **almond**, which might be written ['ɑ:mnd], the second syllable is apparently so slightly syllabic as not to cause a separation between the preceding **l** and **m**. Yet a pronunciation ['ælmənd] does occur not infrequently in popular speech, and the local pronunciation of **Salmon**, a frequent proper name in Connecticut, is ['sælmən].

275. In **psalter**, **psaltery**, ['sɔltəɪ], ['sɔltəri], **l** is always pronounced. In **psalmist** it is usually not pronounced, through force of the analogy of **psalm**. But in **psalmody**, **psalmodic**, pronunciations on the analogy of **psalm** without **l**, and pronunciations with **l**, ['sælmədi], [sæl'mudɪk]

are both current, in the latter case the two consonants going with separate syllables.

276. After a [aɪ], [aɪ], [æ], o [oɪ], l is silent before [f], [v], in **calf**, **half**, **salve**, **golf** [gɔ:f], but also pronounced [gɔlf], the latter being perhaps the more common pronunciation in America. When the [f] or [v] goes with a succeeding syllable, a preceding [l] is pronounced, as in **palfrey** ['pælfri], **salvage** ['sælvɪdʒ], **salvation** [sæl'veɪʃən], etc. In the proper names **Ralph**, **Rolfe**, an [l] is always pronounced, probably through the influence of the spelling, though formerly a pronunciation without [l] was also current. The verb **salve**, in the special sense of saving a ship or a ship's cargo, is pronounced [sælv].

277. Before [n], [l] is silent in **Lincoln** ['lɪŋkən].

278. The spelling **colonel** for ['kəɪnl], ['kɑɪnl], is due to the French and Italian form of this word, but the pronunciation is due to the Spanish form, in which r appears instead of l in the spelling.

279. In **solder** ['sɒdə], l is silent, though otherwise generally pronounced before d. Dialectally this word is sometimes pronounced ['sɔ:də], written *sawder* in dialect stories. In **could**, **would**, **should**, no [l] is present in pronunciation, and historically no l should appear in the spelling of **could**. The Middle English form of this word is **coude**, but later the spelling changed to **could** under the influence of the analogy of **would** and **should**, both of which had l through etymological origin. But **could** seems to have retained its pronunciation without [l], and even to have attracted **would** and **should** to it. As auxiliaries, these words were all slightly stressed in the

word group, and this fact may have contributed to the loss of the [l] in them.

280. Words written **ll**, normally have only a single [l]-sound, as in **holly** ['hɒli], **fully** ['fʊli], etc., except when for the sake of unusual clearness a word like **wholly** is pronounced ['ho:li] to distinguish it from **holy** ['ho:li], or **solely** is pronounced ['so:li] to keep it etymologically distinct from the word **soul**, or **fouly** is pronounced ['faʊli] to keep it etymologically distinct from **fowl**. Ordinarily, however, **wholly** and **holy** are pronounced exactly alike, ['ho:li].

### [m]

281. The pronunciation of [m] in standard English causes no difficulty. When **m** is written, it is always pronounced, except in **mnemonic** [ni'manik] and derivative forms of this word, where it is silent, and in **comptroller** [kən'trɒlɪ], where it is pronounced [n].

282. In popular English [m] is sometimes made syllabic after [l], **elm** [ɛlm], **helm** [hɛlm], **film** [fɪlm], etc., being pronounced ['ɛləm], ['hɛləm], ['fɪləm], etc.

283. For **pumpkin** standard pronunciation has ['pʌmpkin], ['pʌmkɪn], but dialect speech commonly has ['pʌŋkin], ['pʌŋkɪn].

### [n]

284. The usual orthographic spelling for [n] is **n**, but also **gn**, **kn**, with **g** and **k** silent, as in **no** [nou], **ant** [ænt], **penny** ['penɪ], **ton** [tʌn]; **condign** [kən'daɪn], **gnaw** [nəʊ], **feign** [feɪn], **foreign** ['fɔːrɪn], **poignant** ['pɔɪnənt]; **knee** [ni:], **knell** [nel], **knock** [nɒk], **knoll** [nou], **know** [nou].

285. In words of French and Italian origin written **gn**, as in **cognac**, **mignonette**, **vignette**, **Bologna**, **Campagna**, and in Spanish words written **ñ**, as in **cañon**, **señor**, **piñon**, the sound is [nj], as in ['kɒm'jæk], ['mɪnjə'net], [vɪn'jet], [bə'lɒmjəl], popularly often pronounced [bə'lɒni], [kæm'pænjəl], ['kænjən], ['sɪn'jɔɪ], ['pɪn'jən]. For **cañon** a spelling **canyon** is now commonly used. Exceptions to this rule are **poignant**, noted above, and **champagne** ['ʃæm'peɪn]. The place name **Boulogne** is commonly pronounced [bu'lɒn], and for **Bourgogne** only the Anglicized forms **Burgoyne**, **Burgundy** are in general use. In the customary pronunciation ['sɪn'jɔɪ] for **señor** the accented vowel has lost its Spanish value.

286. After **l**, [n] is silent in **kiln** [kɪl], though a pronunciation with [n], due to the influence of the spelling, is also heard.

287. For **chimney** ['tʃɪmni], popular English often has ['tʃɪmli], ['tʃɪmbli].

288. After [m], an orthographic **n** is regularly silent, except when it belongs to a succeeding syllable, as in **solemn** ['sələm], but **solemnize** ['sələm'naɪz]; **autumn** ['ɔ:təm], but **autumnal** [ɔ'tʌmnl]; **hymn** [hɪm], but **hymnal** ['hɪmnl]. The influence of a head form without [n] often preserves this pronunciation even when **mn** is followed by a vowel, as in **condemn** [kən'dəm], **condemning** [kən'demɪŋ]; **damn** [dæm], **damning** ['dæmɪŋ]; in **joy** and **hymning** (Milton) [ɪn dʒɔɪ ænd 'hɪmɪŋ].

In popular pronunciation [n] is often omitted in **government** ['gʌvəɪn'mənt], pronounced ['gʌvəɪ'mənt].

For **n** [ŋ] before [k], see § 289.

## [ŋ]

289. This sound is commonly represented in spelling by **ng**, or by **n** in the combination [ŋg], [ŋk], as in **sing**, **singing**, [sɪŋ], [sɪŋɪŋ], **long** [lɒŋ], **lung** [lʌŋ], **rang** [ræŋ]; **think** [θɪŋk], **minx** [mɪŋks], **Bronx** [brɒŋks], **bank** [bæŋk], **sunk** [sʌŋk], **monk** [mʌŋk], **monkey** ['mʌŋki], **distinct** [dɪs'tɪŋkt], **tincture** ['tɪŋktʃə], **function** ['fʌŋkʃən], [fʌŋk-tʃən], **conch** [kəŋk], etc. On the omission of [k] or [t] in the combination [ŋktʃ], see §§ 267, 339.

290. The prefix **in-** when stressed and followed by [k] is pronounced [ɪn-] or [ɪŋ-], as in **income** ['ɪn'kʌm] or ['ɪŋ'kʌm], **incubus** ['ɪnkjʊbəs] or ['ɪŋkjʊbəs], **incubate** ['ɪnkju'beɪt] or ['ɪŋkjʊ'beɪt]; so also with **in-** followed by **qu**, as in **inquest** ['ɪnkwest] or ['ɪŋkwest]. The pronunciation of **inquiry** [ɪn'kwɪəri] with stress on the first syllable, giving ['ɪnkwɪəri] or ['ɪŋkwɪəri], is not current in standard English.

291. The prefix **con-** followed by [gr] is pronounced [kəŋ-] when it bears a stress, as in **Congress** ['kəŋɡres], **Congregate** ['kəŋɡrɪ'geɪt], **Congruous** ['kəŋɡruəs]; but when not stressed it usually becomes [kən-], as in **congressional** [kən'ɡreʃənəl], **congruity** [kən'ɡruɪti]. In **congregational** a pronunciation [kəŋ-] may persist because in polysyllables of this type the first syllable bears a secondary stress.

For **Congreve**, **Conger**, **Congo**, the usual pronunciations are ['kəŋ'ɡrɪv], ['kəŋɡə], ['kəŋ'ɡou].

292. Followed by [k], the pronunciation of **con-** varies indifferently between [kən-] and [kəŋ-], as in **concave** ['kən'keɪv] or ['kəŋ'keɪv], **concubine** ['kən'kjʊbeɪn] or ['kəŋ'kjʊbeɪn], **conclave** ['kən'kleɪv] or ['kəŋ'kleɪv], **con-**



**cord** ['kan'kɔɪd] or ['kən'kɔɪd], **concourse** ['kan'kɔɪs] or ['kən'kɔɪs], **concrete** ['kan'kɹɪt] or ['kən'kɹɪt].

293. Before **qu** [kw], **gu** [gw], **n** is pronounced [ŋ] by some speakers, [n] by others, as in **banquet** ['bæn'kwet] or ['bæn'kwet], **Banquo** ['bæn'kwɔ] or ['bæn'kwɔ], **lingual** ['lɪŋwəl] or ['lɪŋwəl], **linguistic** [lɪn'ɡwɪstɪk] or [lɪn'ɡwɪstɪk], etc., with the preference perhaps in favor of the pronunciations with [n]. In **conquer** ['kən'kɛɹ], **conqueror** ['kən'kɛɹɹ], where **qu** is [k], the value of **n** is always [ŋ], but in **conquest** forms with [n] and [ŋ] both appear.

294. Before [θ], [ŋ] often becomes [n] in popular speech in **length** [lɛŋθ], **lengthen** ['lɛŋθən], **strength** [stɹɛŋθ], **strengthen** ['stɹɛŋθən], which are pronounced [lɛnθ], ['lɛnθən], [stɹɛnθ], ['stɹɛnθən].

295. A final unstressed [ŋ] is sometimes pronounced [ŋ] in dialect speech, as in **kitchen** ['kɪtʃɪŋ], **chicken** ['tʃɪkɪŋ], **garden** ['ɡɑɹdɪŋ], etc., so also facetiously in **heavens** ['heɪvɪnz].

296. In dialect speech and sometimes also in colloquial cultivated speech, final unstressed [ŋ] becomes [n], especially in present participles, as in **singing** ['sɪŋɪn], **doing** ['dʊɪn], **saying** ['seɪn], etc. This pronunciation is more generally heard in cultivated speech in England than in America. In both countries, however, the authority of academic opinion is strongly against it.

297. A final [ŋ] sometimes becomes [ŋk] in dialect speech, as **nothing** ['nʌθɪŋk], **singing** ['sɪŋɪŋk], **anything** ['ɛni'θɪŋk]. This pronunciation appears in America chiefly in the larger cities and in speakers of foreign birth

or tradition. It is more common in unstressed than in stressed syllables, but pronunciations like [kɪŋk] for **king** may even be heard.

## [p]

298. An orthographic **p** is silent in **comptroller** [kən-  
'tro:ləɪ], **psalm** [saɪm], **pseudo-** ['su:do-], **psychology**  
[saɪ'kɒlədʒɪ], **pneumatic** [nju'mætɪk], **pterodactyl** [təro-  
'dæktɪl], **ptomaine** ['toɪ'me:n], **ptarmigan** ['tɑ:ɪmɪɡən],  
**raspberry** ['ræz'berɪ], ['raɪz'berɪ]. The pronunciation of  
**corp** is [kɔɪ], plural **corps** [kɔɪz], but in **corpse** [kɔɪps] the  
**p** is sounded. In **cupboard** ['kʌbəɪd] the **p** is not sounded  
and may be said to have been assimilated to the following  
**b**. The word **clapboard** shows the same change.

299. On the other hand, some speakers insert a [p]  
between **m** and a continuant consonant where no [p] is  
present in orthography or in standard speech, as in  
**warmth** [wɔɪmpθ], **lymph** [lɪmpf], **camphor** ['kæmpfəɪ],  
**symphony** ['sɪmpfəni], **samphire** ['sæmp'faɪəɪ], **Humphrey**,  
**Humphries**, ['hæmpfrɪ], ['hæmpfrɪz]. The spelling **ph** in  
these words may partly account for the pronunciation of  
a [p] in them, though this spelling is of course only one of  
the English ways of recording [f]. A more probable explana-  
tion, however, is that a [p] is necessarily produced when  
the breath is allowed to issue after the formation of [m]  
and the tongue and lip formation for a different consonant  
are not immediately assumed. In the same way a [p] is  
sometimes present in **dreamt** [dremt], giving [drempt].  
See § 359 for **ph** pronounced [p] in the combination **phth**.

300. In the orthographic combination **mp** followed by  
a consonant, a [p] is generally pronounced, as in **unkempt**  
['ʌn'kempt], **limped** [lɪmpt], **stamped** [stæmpt], **glimpse**

[glɪmps], **lamps** [læmps], **assumption** [ə'sʌmpʃən], etc., but some speakers tend to omit the [p] in these combinations, pronouncing [ʼʌn'kɛmt], [lɪmt], [stæmt], [glɪms], [ə'sʌmʃən], etc. To most persons these seem rather careless pronunciations.

In the place names **Hampshire**, **Hampden**, **Hampton**, the **p** is usually silent.

[r], [ɹ]

301. On the different varieties of **r**, see §§ 39–44.

Especially in the East and South, [ɹ] is regularly omitted by many speakers before other consonants and finally, as in **party** [ˈpɑrtɪ], **large** [lɑɪdʒ], **far** [fɑ:], **cur** [kʌ:], **war** [wɔɪ]. But when stressed [ɹ] is omitted finally it often leaves a trace of its existence in a weak [ə], as in **for**, **four** [ˈfɔɪə], **there** [ˈðeɪə], **fear** [ˈfiə], **fire** [ˈfaɪə], **fur** [ˈfʌɪə], **war** [ˈwɔɪə], **cur** [ˈkʌɪə], **far** [ˈfɑɪə].

302. When [ɹ] is omitted before a consonant, the preceding vowel, if not already long, is lengthened, and the difference in length may then be the only distinguishing feature between two such words as **cart** [kɑ:t] and **cot** [kɑt], **hard** [hɑ:d] and **hod** [hɑd], **part** [pɑ:t] and **pot** [pɑt]. But between **father** and **farther** no phonetic distinction would exist, both being [ˈfɑ:ðə]; so also **fought** and **fort** might both be [fɔ:t], **caught** and **court** might be [kɔ:t], **sought** and **sort** might be [sɔ:t], **laud** and **lord** might be [lɔ:d], etc. In Southern speech the sound of **o** before **r** and a consonant frequently becomes a vowel between [ɔɪ] and [oɪ], which may be described as a front [ɔɪ]. In this pronunciation **lord** lies between **laud** and **load** and distinct from both. So also in words with **r** final, as in **tore**, the pronunciation of which suggests **taw** or **toe**, but is appreciably different to the ear.

303. For **burst** a popular form without [ɹ] is generally current, but is pronounced [bʌst], whereas the cultivated pronunciation is either [bəɪst] or [bʌɪst]. Similar pronunciations like **nurse** [nʌs], **first** [fʌst], **curse** [kʌs], **pursy** ['pasi], **purslane** ['pʌslɪ], are to be heard only in dialect and popular speech.

304. For **iron** and derivatives the only current pronunciations are ['aɪəɪn], ['aɪən]. A parallel pronunciation for **apron** ['eɪpəɪn], however, is dialectal, the standard form being ['eɪprən]. For **irony** the pronunciation is ['aɪrənɪ]. For **tired** the standard pronunciation is ['taɪəɪd] or ['taɪəd], and so with similar words, such as **fired**, **hired**, **wired**, etc.

305. At the end of words after vowels, in unstressed and after [ɔɪ] in stressed syllables, an [ɹ] is often added which is not present in spelling or in standard use, as in **idea** [aɪ'dɪəɹ], **window** ['wɪndəɹ], **Hannah** ['hænəɹ], **Noah** ['noəɹ], etc. This is most likely to take place when the word is followed by another word beginning with a vowel, but the pronunciation is not limited to such combinations. Pronunciations like [drɔɪɹ], [sɔɪɹ] for **draw** [drɔɪ], **saw** [sɔɪ], occur only in illiterate or dialect speech, but one often hears [aɪ'dɪəɹ], ['wɪndəɹ], ['hænəɹ], etc., especially in New England, in the speech of cultivated persons. They are localisms, however, not to be recommended for imitation. In dialect speech an **r** is often inserted before a consonant after [ɔɪ], as in **chalk**, pronounced [tʃɔɪɹk], **dog**, pronounced [dɔɪɹg], **soft**, pronounced [sɔɪɹft], etc. For standard **wash** [wɔʃ], **Washington** ['wɔʃɪntən], popular speech often has [wɔɪɹʃ], ['wɔɪɹʃɪntən]. In such words [ɹ] probably arises from the diphthongal pronunciation of [ɔɪ], see § 70.

306. Between vowels, [r] is omitted dialectally and also by some educated speakers in a kind of feeble refined pronunciation which is not general in any locality, but is characteristic rather of individuals or small family groups, as in ['vɛ:ɪ] for **very**, ['kɛ:ɪ] for **carry**, ['ɔ:əl] for **oral**, ['fʌɪ] for **furry**, etc. This pronunciation is caused by failure to bring the tongue after the pronunciation of the preceding vowel to the position required by [r], and in most instances is probably a survival of infantile pronunciations in which the movements of the organs of speech were under imperfect command. Somewhat similar is the omission of [r] in **hundred**, pronounced ['hʌndəd], and the first [r] in **February**, pronounced ['febə'wɛɪ], for standard ['hʌndrəd], ['febru'ɛɪ]. For **February** there is also a pronunciation ['febju'ɛɪ] which is probably in part due to the analogy of **January** ['dʒænju'ɛɪ], and is not infrequently heard in cultivated speech. The pronunciation of **library** ['laɪbrɛɪ] as ['laɪbɛɪ] is juvenile and dialectal.

307. In popular speech, [ɹ] is also omitted before consonants, especially in unstressed syllables, as in **comfortable**, pronounced ['kʌmfətəbl], **surprised**, pronounced [sə'praɪzd], **particular**, pronounced [pə'tɪkjʊləɹ], **Saturday**, pronounced ['sætədɹ]. Also in some stressed syllables, as in **cartridge**, pronounced ['kætrɪdʒ], **partridge**, pronounced ['pætrɪdʒ].

[s]

308. The sound of [s] is represented in the ordinary spelling by **s**, **ss**, **c**, **sc**, **x** [ks], as in **yes** [jes], **best** [best], **miss** [mɪs], **mistress** ['mɪstrɪs], **wasp** [wɒsp], **rice** [raɪs], **except** [ɛk'sept], **accept** [æk'sept], **ceiling** ['si:lɪŋ], **cincture** ['sɪŋktʃəɹ], **cinch** [sɪntʃ], **circle** ['sɜ:kl], **service** ['sɜ:vɪs],



**tax** [tæks], **buxom** ['bʌksəm], **scythe** [saɪð], **scene** [si:n], **scissors** ['sɪzəɪz]. The spelling of **scissors** is exceptional in two respects, in the spelling **sc** in a native English word for [s], and **ss** for [z]. In **schism** and derivatives, **sch** is pronounced [s], [sɪzm].

For **si**, **ssi**, **su**, **ssu**, pronounced [ʃ], see § 327.

**309.** The value of **c** is [s] regularly before **e**, **i**, **y**, as in **cell** [sɛl], **conceit** [kən'si:t], **citron** ['sɪtrən], **decide** [dɪ'saɪd], **cinch** [sɪntʃ], **cycle** ['saɪkl], but [k] before **a**, **o**, **u**, as in **can** [kæn], **call** [kɔ:l], **coke** [kɔ:k], **cook** [kʊk], **cup** [kʌp]. For **sacerdotal** the standard pronunciation is ['sæsə'dɔ:təl], but sometimes a Latinized pronunciation [sækəɹ-] is heard. The Old English proper names **Cædmon**, **Cynewulf** are pronounced ['kædmən], ['kɪnɪ'wulf]. For **Celt**, **Celtic**, **Cymric** both [kelt], ['keltɪk], ['kɪmrɪk] and [selt], ['seltɪk], ['sɪmrɪk] occur.

**310.** In the combination **stl**, the **s** is usually voiceless, as in **gristle** ['grɪsl], **thistle** ['θɪsl], **whistle** ['wɪsl], etc., but some speakers say ['mɪzl'tɒʊ] for **mistletoe** ['mɪsl'tɒʊ]. For **grisly** the standard pronunciation is ['grɪslɪ].

**311.** For **greasy** the common pronunciation is ['grɪ:zɪ], but some speakers carry over the consonant of the noun **grease** [grɪ:s] to the adjective, pronouncing the adjective ['grɪ:sɪ]. A distinction is sometimes made in the meaning of ['grɪ:sɪ] and ['grɪ:zɪ], the latter being regarded as a word of unpleasant connotation. Popular usage and, in general, standard speech have only the form with [z].

**312.** For **rise** (*noun*) a pronunciation [raɪs] is sometimes heard to distinguish the noun from the verb [raɪz], but the common pronunciation is [raɪz] for both noun and verb. In some words, however, [s] is distinctive for

noun, [z] for verb function, as in **advice** [æd'vaɪs], **advise** [æd'vaɪz]; **device** [dɪ'vaɪs], **devise** [dɪ'vaɪz]; **abuse** [ə'bjuːs], **abuse** (*verb*) [ə'bjuːz]; **use** [juːs], **use** (*verb*) [juːz]; **grease** [ɡriːs], **grease** (*verb*) [ɡriːz]. For **sacrifice** the common pronunciation is [ˈsækrɪ'faɪs] for both noun and verb, but [ˈsækrɪ'faɪz] is occasionally heard for the verb. For **close** as verb the pronunciation is [kloːz], as adjective, adverb and noun (as in 'cathedral close') the pronunciation is [kloɪs]. In **recluse** [rɪ'kluːs] the *s* is voiceless.

**313.** The pronunciation of **Missouri** is commonly [mɪz'uɪrɪ], though [mɪ'suɪrɪ] is sometimes heard. The accented vowel may be [ʊ].

**314.** In **Louisville**, **St. Louis**, **Illinois** and other proper names in which a French tradition survives, pronunciations both with and without *s* are generally current. In **New Orleans** the final *s* is always pronounced, the stress being on the first syllable, as in [ˈnju 'ɔːlənz]. The pronunciation [ˈnju ɔːlɪnz] is dialectal. In **Des Moines** [dɪ'mɔɪn] neither *s* is sounded. In **Illinois** when the final consonant is pronounced it is voiced. In **New Orleans** the two vowel letters of the final syllable may be given separate quality, as in [ˈnju 'ɔːlɪənz].

**315.** In **ambergris**, though the word is of French origin, the final *s* is always sounded, and the word is treated as though it were a compound of **amber** and **grease**, being pronounced accordingly, [ˈæmbə'ɡriːs]. So also with **verdigris** [ˈvɛdɪ'ɡriːs], **avoirdupois** [ˈævɔɪdʊ'pɔɪz]. For **bourgeois**, meaning 'middle class,' the pronunciation is [ˈbuːʒ'waɪ], but as the name of a kind of type it is [bəɪ'dʒɔɪs].

**316.** Some speakers show a marked tendency to substitute [ʃ] for [s], especially when it comes before [t], as in **worst** [wəɪst], pronounced [wəɪʃt], **distressed** [dis'trɛst], pronounced [dis'trɛʃt], **suggest** [sə'dʒɛst], pronounced [sə'dʒɛʃt], etc. The pronunciation produces a spluttery untidy effect, which most persons find very disagreeable.

**317.** For **rinse** [rɪns], [rɪnz], popular dialect speech often has [rɛntʃ]. The proper name **Rensselaer** ['rɛnsə'leɪ], ['rɛnsləɪ], has a popular form ['rɛntʃləɪ]. The pronunciation of **pincers** ['pɪnsəɪz] as ['pɪntʃəɪz] is probably the result of the influence of **pinch**. It is possible that the pronunciation [rɛntʃ] for **rinse** has been affected by the analogy of **wrench** [rɛntʃ]. A half-way form, [rɛns], is also heard.

[z]

**318.** The two common spellings for [z] are **s** and **z**, as in **his** [hɪz], **phase** [feɪz], **despise** [dɪ'spaɪz], **misery** ['mɪzəri], **accuse** [ækjuɪz], **visor** ['vaɪzəri], **Townsend** ['taʊnzənd], **zone** [zoɪn], **baize** [beɪz], **lazy** ['leɪzi], **dizzy** ['dɪzi], **hazard** ['hæzəd], **lizard** ['lɪzəd], etc. Hard and fast rules for **s** pronounced [z] cannot be given, because general rules are very much broken into by analogical groupings. Initial **s**, however, is never voiced, and the spellings **c**, **ss** never stand for [z], with the exception of **scissors**, see § 308, and **Missouri**, see § 313. Between vowels and in the neighborhood of voiced consonants, **s** tends to become [z] by assimilation, as in **house** [haʊs], **houses** ['haʊzɪz], but the operation of this tendency may be held in check by the influence of a head form, as in **case** [keɪs], **cases** ['keɪsɪz]; **gas** [gæs], **gases** ['gæsɪz]; **lease** [li:s], **leases** ['li:sɪz]; or the third singular of verbs,

like **loose** [luis], **looses** ['luisɪz]. Likewise in the possessives of words ending in [s] the voiceless sound is preserved when the ending is added, as in **moose** [muɪs], **moose's** ['muɪsɪz].

**319.** Inflectional **s** in the plurals and possessives of nouns and in the third singular present of verbs is [z], unless it is preceded by a voiceless consonant, as in **cows** [kaʊz], **goes** [goɪz], **paths** [pæðz], **wives** [waɪvz], **tubs** [tʌbz], **rides** [raɪdɪz]; but **cats** [kæts], **skiffs** [skɪfs], **myths** [mɪθs], **walks** [wɔɪks], **steps** [stɛps], etc.

**320.** For **Mrs.** the common pronunciation is the same as for **misses**, that is, [ˈmɪsəz] or [ˈmɪsɪz], but occasionally the final consonant is voiceless, [ˈmɪsɪs]. The pronunciation with the medial consonant voiced, as in [ˈmɪzɪz], is said to be a sure test of Southern speech.<sup>1</sup> But the test does not work both ways. It may be true that [ˈmɪzɪz] is always Southern, but it is not true that all Southerners say [ˈmɪzɪz]. In Southern pronunciation **Mrs.** is often monosyllabic, being merely [mɪz], with perhaps the final consonant prolonged.

**321.** Words in which a stressed **s** after a vowel is followed by the ending **-ive** usually have [s], but sometimes [z], as in **abusive**, **conclusive**, **corrosive**, **diffusive**, **evasive**, **persuasive**, **incisive**. The pronunciation with **s** is to be preferred. After **n**, **l**, **r**, when **s** is under the stress it remains as [s], as in **pensive**, **defensive**, **expansive**, **impulsive**, **discursive**.

**322.** Intervocalic **s** in unstressed syllables when it is not [ʃ] or [ʒ] (see §§ 327 (e), 328 ff.), usually is pronounced

<sup>1</sup> Read, *Dialect Notes*, III, 524 (1911).

[z], as in **comparison**, **jettison**, **unison**, **venison**, though sometimes [s] in all these words.

The usual pronunciation of **usage** is ['ju:ɪsɪdʒ], the voiceless [s] being maintained by the stress. But ['ju:ɪzɪdʒ] also is heard.

323. In **newspaper** the less usual pronunciation is ['nju:z'pe:pə], in agreement with the uncompounded form **news** [nju:z]. Generally, the voiced [z] is assimilated to the voiceless [p], giving ['njʊs'pe:pə].

324. In **Chinese**, **Japanese**, **Maltese**, **Siamese**, **Sou-danese**, etc., the final syllable is usually [-i:z], especially when the words stand in adjective position and are consequently lightly stressed, as in **Siamese twins** ['saɪəmi:z'twɪnz]. As the name of a people, for example, **the Chinese**, **the Japanese**, the words are more heavily stressed and are often pronounced with a voiceless consonant, [ʃə tʃaɪ'ni:s], [ʃə dʒæpə'ni:s].

325. For **Kansas**, **Arkansas**, the pronunciation is ['kæn-zəs], [ɑ:kænzəs], rarely with [s] for the first consonant of the last syllable; but the pronunciation of **Arkansas** as ['ɑ:kən'sɔɪ] is the one accepted in the state and in the West generally. For **Texas** the usual pronunciation is ['teksəs], less often ['teksəz].

326. The pronunciation of **czar** (sometimes spelled **tzar**) and derivatives is [zɑ:ɹ]. In a few words, especially Greek proper names, **x** is pronounced [z], as in **Xenophon** ['zenəfən], **Xanthippe** [zæn'tɪpɪ], **Xerxes** ['zærksɪz], **Xavier** ['ze:vɪə], **Xebec** ['zi:bək]. In **avoidupois** the final consonant is always pronounced [z], see § 315.



## [ʃ]

**327.** This sound is of very wide occurrence in the language and can best be treated under the heads of its various orthographic representations.

(a) **s**= [ʃ] in **sugar** [ˈʃʊgəɹ], **sure** [ʃʊɹ], [ʃʊəɹ], and derivatives of **sure**. The sound is not standard in any other words of this type, though occasionally heard in pronunciations like **assume** [əˈʃu:m] for [əˈsu:m], [əˈsju:m], [ˈʃu:mæk] for **sumach** [ˈsu:mæk], especially in dialect speech.

(b) **sh**= [ʃ], as in **ship** [ʃɪp], **fish** [fɪʃ], **ashen** [ˈæʃən], **shackle** [ˈʃækl], **fashion** [ˈfæʃən], and a large number of other words.

(c) **sch**= [ʃ], but only in a few words of foreign origin, as in **schottish**, **schottische** [ˈʃɑtɪʃ], **schist** [ʃɪst], a term in geology, **schnapps** [ʃnæps]. For **schedule**, see § 263; for **schism**, see § 308. Ordinarily **sch**=**sk** [sk].

(d) **ch**= [ʃ], especially in words of French origin or words influenced by French pronunciation, as in **chef** [ʃef], **chalet** [ʃæˈleɹ], **chevalier** [ʃevəˈliəɹ], **cheval** [ʃeˈvæl], **chauvinism** [ˈʃɔ:vɪnɪzm], **chandelier** [ˈʃændəˈliəɹ], **charade** [ʃəˈreɪd], **chic** [ʃɪk], **chassis** [ʃæˈsi:], **champagne** [ʃæmˈpeɪn], **chiffonier** [ʃɪfəˈniəɹ] (very commonly also [ʃef-]), **chauffeur** [ˈʃɔ:fəɹ] or [ʃoˈfəɹ], **chivalry** [ˈʃɪvəlɹɪ], **chagrin** [ʃəˈgrɪn], **cheroot** [ʃəˈru:t], **chaise** [ʃe:z], **chamois** [ˈʃæmwɑ] (as the name of the animal), [ˈʃæmɹɪ] (as the name of the skin of commerce), **chiffon** [ˈʃɪfən], **chemise** [ʃeˈmi:z], **chicanery** [ʃɪˈke:nɹɪ], **mustache** [məˈstæʃ]; also in proper names, as in **Charlotte** [ˈʃɑ:lələt], **Champlain** [ʃæmˈpleɪn], **Charlevoix** [ˈʃɑ:ləvɔɹ], **Cheyenne** [ˈʃaɪˈen], **Chenango** [ʃəˈnæŋɡo], **Chicago** [ʃɪˈkɑ:ɡo] or [ʃɪˈkɔ:ɡo], **Michigan** [ˈmɪʃɪɡən], **Cheboygan** [ʃɪˈbɔɪɡən], **Chatauqua** [ʃəˈtɔ:kwə]. But [ʃ] for **ch** is not universal in native American place names, some

having [tʃ], as in **Chippewa** [ˈtʃɪpɪˈwəɪ], **Chillicothe** [tʃɪlɪˈkəːθɪ], **Chicopee** [ˈtʃɪkəˈpiː], **Cherokee** [ˈtʃɛrəˈkiː], **Chattanooga** [tʃætəˈnuːɡə].

For **chivalry** [ˈʃɪvəlɪ] and derivatives a pronunciation [ˈtʃɪvəlɪ] also obtains in England, but is never heard in America except as a Britishism.

An occasional pronunciation [pəˈrɔːʃəl] is heard for the standard **parochial** [pəˈrɔːkiəl].

(e) Under this and the following heads are grouped instances in which an original [s] or [t], followed by an unstressed mid or high front sound, [e], [ɪ] or [ju], combined with the vowel to form [ʃ].

**ce**=[ʃ], as in **ocean** [ˈoːʃən], and in the ending **-aceous**, as in **herbaceous** [hæɪˈbeɪʃəs], **crustaceous** [krʌsˈteɪʃəs], etc. For **oceanic** both [oʃɪˈænɪk] and [osɪˈænɪk] occur.

(f) **ci**=[ʃ], as in **musician** [mjuˈzɪʃən], **social** [ˈsoʊʃəl], **gracious** [ˈɡreɪʃəs], **sufficient** [səˈfɪʃənt], **ancient** [ˈeɪnʃənt], also [ˈeɪntʃənt], **patient** [ˈpeɪʃənt], **racial** [ˈreɪʃəl], **precious** [ˈpreʃəs], **preciosity** [preʃɪˈəsɪti].

In the endings **-ciate**, **-ciation**, considerable difference of usage occurs, the general tendency of popular speech being to pronounce **ci** as [ʃ], but in cultivated speech this tendency is sometimes interrupted, especially in formal discourse, in which the pronunciation [sɪ] is often preferred as being nearer to the spelling, as in **enunciate** [ɪˈnʌnʃɪˈeɪt] or [ɪˈnʌnsɪˈeɪt], **associate** and derivatives [əˈsoʊʃɪˈeɪt] or [əˈsoʊsɪˈeɪt], **pronunciation** [proˈnʌnʃɪˈeɪʃən] (but perhaps more commonly [proˈnʌnsɪˈeɪʃən], either from a desire to distinguish **ci** and **ti** in the word, or it may be because one is likely to be self-conscious in pronouncing this word), **officiate** [əˈfɪʃɪˈeɪt] or [əˈfɪsɪˈeɪt], **emaciated** [ɪˈmeɪʃɪˈetəd] or [ɪˈmeɪsɪˈetəd], **appreciate** [æˈpriːʃɪˈeɪt], **appreciation** [æpriːʃɪˈeɪʃən] or [æprɪsɪˈeɪʃən]. In words like

**appreciation, enunciation, association,** etc., the **ci** is likely to be pronounced [sɪ] to avoid bringing two [ʃ]-sounds close together.

(g) **sci**=[ʃ], as in **conscious** ['kənʃəs], **conscience** ['kənʃəns], **omniscient** [əm'nɪʃənt], **luscious** ['lʌʃəs].

In formal speech instead of [ʃ], sometimes [sɪ] is heard for **sci**, especially in learned words, like **omniscient** [əm'nɪsɪənt], **prescience** ['presɪəns].

(h) **si**=[ʃ], as in **mansion** ['mænʃən], **dimension** [dɪ'menʃən], **transient** ['trænsɪənt], in formal speech often ['trænsɪənt], **Asia** ['eɪʃə], but also ['eɪʒə], **fuchsia** ['fju:ʃə]. In **transient** the consonant is sometimes voiced, giving ['trænzɪənt]. In **Persia** ['pɜ:ʒə] it is always voiced. See § 333 (a).

The variant spelling **x** for [ks] appears in **noxious** ['nɒkʃəs], **anxious** ['æŋkʃəs]. For **axiom** the standard pronunciation is ['æksɪəm], the general tendency, which would produce ['æksəm], being held in check by the learned character of the word.

(i) **se**=[ʃ], as in **nausea** ['nəʃə] and derivatives, but also pronounced ['nəʃɪə], ['nəʃɪə], ['nəʃɪə], ['nəʃɪə], ['nəʃɪə].

(j) **su**=[ʃ], the vowel also persisting, as in **insular** ['ɪnʃulə], **peninsula** [pən'ɪnʃulə], **sensual** ['sɛnʃuəl], **sexual** ['sɛkʃuəl], **consular** ['kənʃulə], **luxury** ['lʌkʃəri], less frequently ['lʌgzəri].

In all these words, which differ from those under (a) in that **s** is followed by **u** in an unstressed syllable, pronunciations with [sɪ] also occur, as in ['ɪnsɪlə], ['sɛnsɪjuəl], etc., especially in formal and conscious speech. It is the [ɪ] element in [ju] that causes the [s]-sound to become [ʃ].

(k) **ssi**=[ʃ], as in **mission** ['mɪʃən], **passion** ['pæʃən], **discussion** [dɪs'kʌʃən], **confession** [kən'fɛʃən], **Ossian**

[ʊʃən] or in careful pronunciation [ʊʃiən], **Russia** [ˈrʌʃə], **Prussia** [ˈprʌʃə].

(l) **ssu**=[ʃ], the vowel also persisting, as in **issue** [ˈɪʃu], **tissue** [ˈtɪʃu], **fissure** [ˈfɪʃʊ] or [ˈfɪʃə], **pressure** [ˈpreʃʊ] or [ˈpreʃə], **commissure** [ˈkəmɪʃʊ], a term in biology.

A careful pronunciation, as in [ˈɪsju] or [ˈɪʃju], is sometimes cultivated in these words, see also under (j). On the other hand, a slighter colloquial form is also to be observed, as in [ˈtɪʃə] for **tissue**, especially as adjective in the phrase **tissue paper**.

(m) **te**=[tʃ], as in **righteous** [ˈraɪtʃəs], sometimes also **courteous** [ˈkærtʃəs], though more commonly [ˈkærtɪəs]. Other words in **-eous**, as **duteous**, **piteous**, **plenteous**, **bounteous**, **beauteous**, have only the pronunciation [ˈdju-tɪəs], etc., in agreement with their head forms **duty**, **pity**, **plenty**, **bounty**, **beauty**.

In **amateur** the stress falls in cultivated speech on the last syllable, [æməˈtɔː], but quite generally in familiar speech, especially in such phrases as “amateur theatricals,” “amateur standing,” etc., the stress is on the first syllable, giving [ˈæmətʃəɪ].

(n) **ti**=[ʃ], as in **position** [pəˈzɪʃən], **nation** [ˈneɪʃən], **essential** [ɪˈsenʃəl], **Titian** [ˈtɪʃən], **rational** [ˈræʃənəl], **ratio** [ˈreɪʃə], **sentient** [ˈsenʃənt], though also [ˈsentɪənt] as a learned word.

For **otiose**, **otium**, the recognized dictionary pronunciations are [oʃɪˈoɪs], [ˈoɪʃɪəm], but the words are not current in colloquial use, and for that reason most speakers when compelled to pronounce them would follow the spelling.

For **ratiocination** both [ˈrætɪəsiˈneɪʃən] and [ˈræʃɪəsiˈneɪʃən] are in good use.

In words like **differentiation**, **negotiation**, **substantia-**

**tion**, the first **ti** is often pronounced [sɪ] and the second [ʃ], perhaps from a disinclination to have two [ʃ]-sounds close together, see above, under (f). In **differentiation** the influence of **difference** may also be of some weight. In **differentiate**, **negotiate**, **substantiate**, the value of **ti** is commonly [ʃɪ], and it remains so with probably the majority of speakers in **differentiation**, etc.

When **ti** is preceded by [s], the [t] assibilates to [ʃ], but at the same time remains as [t] to avoid the juxtaposition of [s] and [ʃ], as in **question** ['kwɛstʃən], **suggestion** [sə'dʒɛstʃən], **Christian** ['krɪstʃən], etc. The pronunciation ['krɪstɪən] is very formal. See § 339.

When **ti** is preceded by [n], ordinarily the **ti** is pronounced [ʃ], as in **mention** ['mɛnʃən], **attention** [ə'tɛnʃən], **convention** [kən'venʃən], etc.; but when a word is strongly stressed, the sound may become [tʃ], as in **Don't even mention it** [do:nt i:vən 'mɛntʃən ɪt], or in **attention** as a military command, which is reduced merely to the final syllable [tʃən], with of course heavy stress. In such words the organic position for [t] is already assumed for the pronunciation of [n], and the special emphasis merely carries over the continuant [n] to a stop [t].

The history of these words in **ti** runs parallel in everything except orthography to words in **si**. Words of this type were first introduced into the language from French in the early Middle English period, and at the time of their appearance in the language they had already acquired in French a pronunciation [sɪ]. This pronunciation Modern French still retains in words like **nation**, **intention**, etc. Sometimes in the earlier periods one finds **t** replaced by **c** in spelling, as in **nacion** for **nation** ['næsiən]. The influence of Latin orthography, however, was strong enough to prevent the carrying through of this rationaliz-



ing process in spelling, which would have resulted in a consistent spelling with **c** or **s** for **t** in words of this type. Instead a certain amount of inconsistency now appears in English spelling, as in (**in**)**tention** and (**ex**)**tension**, **vicious** and **vitiate**, both of these being pairs of etymologically the same word, or **mention** and (**di**)**mension**, etymologically different, but phonetically the same. Occasionally words with **cti** are written with **x**, as in **connection**, **connexion** [kə'nekʃən], **inflection**, **inflexion** [ɪn'flekʃən], etc.

(o) **tu**=[tʃ], as in **nature** ['neɪtʃə], **feature** ['fi:tʃə], **creature** ['kri:tʃə], **moisture** ['mɔɪstʃə], **fortune** ['fɔ:tʃən], **actual** ['æktʃuəl], **virtuous** ['vɜ:tʃuəs], **furniture** ['fə:nɪtʃə], etc. Formal pronunciations, e.g., ['neɪtʃu], ['fi:tʃu], etc., may occur.

For **literature** and other words of three or four syllables which may have a secondary stress on the final syllable, two pronunciations occur, ['lɪtərətʃə] or ['lɪtərə'tʃu], the latter being the more formal and careful style.

The influence of **manufacture** [mænju'fæktʃə] often produces a popular pronunciation [mænju'fæktʃəri] for **manufactory**, which in standard pronunciation is always [mænju'fæktəri].

The change of **tu** to [tʃ] implies a pronunciation of **u** as [ɪu] or [ju], that is, ['neɪtju], ['fi:tju], etc. This pronunciation is historically recorded, and it was not until towards the close of the eighteenth century that the combination [tju] became [tʃu] in generally accepted English. In fact, [tju] may still be heard occasionally in formal pronunciation. It was perhaps natural for the [t] to be retained, since it was pronounced, even when with the following sound it produced a [ʃ], giving for older **nature** ['neɪtju] the pronunciation ['neɪtʃu]. In a word like **nation**, however, it was pointed out above that the **t** was

never sounded as [t] in English, but only as [s], and the combination therefore developed as **si** into [ʃ]. If **nation** and similar words had come into the language with **t** sounded, for example [ˈneɪtɪən], no doubt a pronunciation [ˈneɪtʃən] would have resulted instead of [ˈneɪʃən]; and so also with [tʃ] for other words of this type. In short, the development of **tu** into [tʃ] is a relatively late and exclusively English process, whereas the development of **ti** into [ʃ] is not what it seems to be, but merely the development of a French [sɪ] into [ʃ].

The pronunciation of **u** in the combination **tu** as [u], not [ju], resulted merely in a weakening of the vowel without any change in the character of the preceding consonant. Thus arose dialect pronunciations like *critter* for **creature**, *nater*, *nateral* for **nature**, **natural**, etc.

When the combination **tu** is under the stress, it remains [tju], as in **mature** [məˈtjuː] or [məˈtʃuː], **institute** (*noun*) [ˈɪnstɪˈtjuːt], **institution** [ɪnstɪˈtjuːʃən], **astute** [æsˈtjuːt], and in initial stressed syllables, as in **tuber**, **Tudor**, **tunic**, **tutor**, and the monosyllables **tube** and **tune**. Even in these stressed syllables the combination **tu** was formerly pronounced [tʃu], but this is heard now only as a humorous pronunciation.

### [ʒ]

328. This is the voiced equivalent of [ʃ] and is orthographically represented by **j**, **g**=[dʒ], or by **s** or **z** before unstressed **i** or **u**, often also by **d** before unstressed **i** or **u**.

329. As the second element of the compound sound [dʒ], this consonant appears in **join** [dʒɔɪn], **judge** [dʒʌdʒ], **gem** [dʒɛm], **gage** [geɪdʒ], **suggest** [səˈdʒɛst], **allege** [əˈledʒ], **ledge** [ledʒ], **bridge** [brɪdʒ], **magic** [ˈmædʒɪk].

330. For **maling** the standard pronunciation is [mə'lɪndʒəɪ], though occasionally speakers are led to pronounce the word as though it were a variant form of **linger** [lɪŋgəɪ].

331. For **margarine**, or the compound **oleomargarine**, the common pronunciation is [mə'ɑɪdʒərɪn] or [mə'ɑɪdʒə'rɪn], the historically correct pronunciation [mə'ɑɪgərɪn] being now rarely heard.

332. For **longevity**, **longitude**, the pronunciation is always [lɒn'dʒevɪtɪ], [lɒndʒɪ'tjuːd]. For **gibber**, **gibbering**, it may be [dʒɪbəɪ], [dʒɪbərɪŋ] or [gɪbəɪ], [gɪbərɪŋ], but for **gibberish** it is always [gɪbərɪʃ]. In **gibbet**, **gibe**, **giblets**, **gill** (*quarter pint*), **gin** (shortened form of **engine** and also shortened form of **Geneva**), **ginseng**, **gist**, the initial consonant is always [dʒ]. A dictionary should be consulted for a list of the words containing **g** before front vowels.

333. Other occurrences of [ʒ] are:

(a) **si**=[ʒ], as in **derision** [dɪ'rɪʒən], **vision** ['vɪʒən], **fusion** ['fju:ʒən], **abrasion** [ə'breɪʒən], **occasion** [ə'keɪʒən], **erosion** [ɪ'ro:ʒən], **osier** ['o:ʒəɪ], **Frasier** ['freɪʒəɪ] or ['freɪ-zjəɪ], **hosier** ['ho:ʒəɪ] or ['ho:zjəɪ], **gymnasium** [dʒɪm'nei-zəm], **symposium** [sɪm'po:zəm], though for these last two words a learned pronunciation [-zɪəm] is also heard.

(b) **zi**=[ʒ], as in **glazier** ['gleɪʒəɪ] or ['gleɪzjəɪ], also written **glasier**, **Frazier** ['freɪʒəɪ] or ['freɪzjəɪ].

(c) **su**=[ʒ], with the vowel also persisting, as in **treasure** ['treʒəɪ], **pleasure** ['pleʒəɪ], **leisure** ['leʒəɪ] or ['li:ʒəɪ], **closure** ['klo:ʒəɪ], **erasure** [ɪ're:ʒəɪ]; **usual** ['ju:ʒuəl] or ['ju:zjuəl], **visual** ['vɪʒuəl] or ['vɪzjuəl], **casual** ['kæʒjuəl] or ['kæzjuəl].

The standard pronunciation of **Jesuit** is [ˈdʒɛzjuɪt], less commonly [ˈdʒɛʒjuɪt].

In **luxurious** the standard pronunciation is [lʌgˈʒʊriəs].

(d) **zu**=[ʒ], in **azure** [ˈeɪʒə] or [ˈæʒə].

(e) **di**=[dʒ], in **cordial** [ˈkɔrdʒəl], **soldier** [ˈsoɪldʒə], and sometimes in other words in **-ial**, **-ient**, **-ious**, **-ium**, as in **medial**, **obedient**, **expedient**, **tedious**, **medium**, **radium**, **tedium**, but usually in these words the endings have the value [-iəl], [-iənt], [-iəs], [-iəm].

In **grandeur**, **de**=[ʒ], [ˈgrændʒə].

(f) **du**=[dʒu], in **modulate** [ˈmɒdʒuˈleɪt], **nodule** [ˈnɒdʒul], **schedule** [ˈskɛdʒul], **pendulum** [ˈpɛndʒuləm], **individual** [ˌɪndɪˈvɪdʒuəl], etc. Instead of [dʒu] in these words, careful and formal speech often has [dju], but the normal tendency is to pronounce [dʒu].

(g) **ti**=[ʒ], in **equation** [ɪˈkwɛɪʒən], but also, in accordance with the usual value of **ti** as [ʃ], [ɪˈkwɛɪʃən]. The pronunciation with [ʒ] seems to have arisen by analogy to such words as **invasion**, **abrasion**, etc.

**334.** In some words of French origin, **g** is pronounced [ʒ], as in **rouge** [ruːʒ], **menage** [mɛˈnɑːʒ], **cortege** [kɔːˈteɪʒ], **mirage** [mɪˈrɑːʒ], **camouflage** [ˈkæmuˈflɑːʒ], **persiflage** [ˈpɜːsɪˈflɑːʒ].

**335.** The proper name **Mosher** is usually [ˈmoɪʒə]. It is also spelled **Mosier**, **Mozier**.

[t]

**336.** This sound is commonly represented by **t**, **tt**, but also by **d** in the preterites of many verbs when the ending **-(e)d** is assimilated to a preceding voiceless consonant. Examples of [t] are **talk** [tɔːk], **lettuce** [ˈletɪs], **missed**

[mɪst], **slipped** [slɪpt], **coughed** [ˈkɒft], **wished** [wɪʃt], and hosts of other words.

**337.** An orthographic **t** is silent in **argot** [ˈɑːɡo], **depot** [ˈdiːpɒ], **ballet** [bæˈleɪ] or [ˈbæli], **buffet** [buˈfeɪ], **chalet** [ʃæˈleɪ], **valet** [væˈleɪ] or [ˈvæli], but more fashionably now [ˈvælit], **parquet** [pɑːˈkeɪ] as the name of a part of a theater, but [pɑːˈkɛt] as the name of a kind of flooring. All these words are of comparatively recent French origin. In **trait**, final **t** is not pronounced in British usage, but in America it is always pronounced.

**338.** In the orthographic combination **-ction**, the **t** is silent, as in **perfection** [pəˈfɛkʃən], **suction** [ˈsʌkʃən], **function** [ˈfʌŋkʃən], **diction** [ˈdɪkʃən], **action** [ˈækʃən], etc. In the combination **-ctu-**, usage varies between [ktʃ] and [kʃ], as in **actual** [ˈæktʃuəl] or [ˈækʃuəl], **juncture** [ˈdʒʌŋktʃə] or [ˈdʒʌŋkʃə], **puncture** [ˈpʌŋktʃə] or [ˈpʌŋkʃə], **lecture** [ˈlɛktʃə] or [ˈlɛkʃə], **manufacture** [mænjuˈfæktʃə] or [mænjuˈfækʃə], etc., though in formal and careful speech the pronunciation with [t] is preferred.

**339.** In the combinations **-sti-**, **-stu-**, a [t] is always pronounced in cultivated speech, pronunciations like [ɛgzˈɔːstʃən], [ˈkwɛstʃən], [ˈfɪkstʃə], [ˈmɪkstʃə] for **exhaustion** [ɛgzˈɔːstʃən], **question** [ˈkwɛstʃən], **fixture** [ˈfɪkstʃə], **mixture** [ˈmɪkstʃə] being slovenly English.

**340.** In the combinations **stl**, **stn**, **ftn**, no [t] is pronounced, as in **epistle** [ɪˈpɪsl], **thistle** [ˈθɪsl], **nestle** [ˈnesl], **jostle** [ˈdʒɔsl], **hustle** [ˈhʌsl], **soften** [ˈsɒfn], **often** [ˈɒfn], **listen** [ˈlɪsn], **fasten** [ˈfæsn], **chasten** [ˈtʃɛːsn], **moisten** [ˈmɔɪsn], **chestnut** [ˈtʃɛsˈnʌt]. In connected discourse, the combination **stn** appears in **must not**, which is commonly pronounced [ˈmʌsnt], except in precise speech where the



words are consciously held apart. In **often** there is some tendency to restore the **t** in pronunciation, through the influence of spelling. But [ʻəfn] is still the prevailing form. In rapid colloquial speech the combination **let us** frequently becomes [les], e.g., **Let us go and see** [les go: n si:].

341. For the orthographic combinations **nch**, **lch**, a pronunciation [ntʃ], [ltʃ] is generally current, though less frequently one also hears [nʃ], [lʃ], as in **pinch** [pɪntʃ] or [pɪnʃ], **bench** [bentʃ] or [benʃ], **launch** [ləʊntʃ] or [ləʊnʃ], **filch** [fɪltʃ] or [fɪlʃ], **belch** [beltʃ] or [bɛlʃ], **gulch** [gʌltʃ] or [gʌlʃ]. For **Welsh** the spelling usually preserves a pronunciation [wɛlʃ], but in the verb and noun probably derived from this word, meaning to slide from under one's obligations, both spellings occur, **welch**, **welcher** and **welsh**, **welsher**, and a corresponding variation in pronunciation. In American usage the pronunciation of all these words with [ntʃ], [ltʃ] is to be preferred. See § 246. For the combination **ns**, the pronunciation in America is usually [nts], as in **dense** [dɛnts], not distinguishable from **dents**, **mince** [mɪnts], not distinguishable from **mints**, etc. But some speakers say [dens], [mɪns] for **dense**, **mince**, etc.

342. A [t] is often omitted in the popular dialects after [p], as in [slɛp], [kɛp], [krɛp] for **slept** [slɛpt], **kept** [kɛpt], **crept** [krɛpt].

343. A [t] is sometimes added in popular speech after [s] in words where it does not appear in standard speech, as in [wʌnst], [twaɪst] for **once**, **twice**, [wɪʃt] for **wish**, [ə'krɒst] for **across**, [kləʊst] for **close**. So also [ə'tækt] for **attack** [ə'tæk]. On the other hand, [t] is frequently

omitted after [s] in popular speech, as in [dʒʌs], [rɪs], [hoɪs], [nɛks] for **just** [dʒʌst], **wrist** [rɪst], **host** [hoɪst], **next** [nɛkst], etc. In **waistcoat**, **Westcott**, the final consonant of the first syllable is usually silent, both words being pronounced [ˈweskət]. But **waistcoat** is rarely used in America, the common word being **vest**. In **locust** few cultivated speakers would acknowledge omitting the final consonant, yet in current speech it is doubtful if one ever hears it.

344. In the combination [kt], [t] is sometimes omitted in the popular dialects, **insect** [ˈɪnsɛkt], **contact** [ˈkəntækt], **perfect** [ˈpɜːfɪkt], **aqueduct** [ˈækwɪˈdʌkt], becoming [ˈɪnsɛk], [ˈkəntæk], [ˈpɜːfɪk], [ˈækwɪˈdʌk], etc.

345. For **partner** [ˈpɑːtnər], popular speech often has [ˈpɑːdnər].

346. In **asked** [ɑːskt], [æskt], many speakers pronounce no [t], saying [æsk], especially when the next word begins with a consonant; or some speakers omit [k], lengthening the preceding consonant, as in [æsɪt]. In no case, not even in the most formal or careful speech, are both a fully articulated [k] and [t] pronounced. What happens in cultivated speech is that after [s] the tongue position for [k] is assumed, but is held without explosion until the position for [t] has been reached. There is thus only one genuine stop consonant in **asked**. Other words of this type, like **basked**, **masked**, etc., are not in familiar use and are consequently likely to be pronounced with emphasis on the orthographic elements of the words. See § 15.

In a combination like **next time**, usually only one t is pronounced, as in [nɛks taɪm]; in **next station** both s and t of **next** are usually silent in cultivated colloquial speech,

as in [nɛk 'steɪʃən]. And as a matter of fact, even the [k] is often not fully articulated; the stoppage for [k] is assumed, but the explosion is not completed.

In the spelling **eighth**, the **th** stands for **tth**, though the explosion for the **t** is not completely made. The **gh** being silent, the phonetic form of the word is approximately [eɪtθ].

[θ]

**347.** The spelling for this sound is always **th**, but this spelling stands for both [θ] and [ð], see §§ 30, 31.

Examples of [θ] are **path** [pa:θ], [pæθ], **thin** [θɪn], **faith** [feɪθ], **both** [bo:θ], **month** [mʌnθ], **froth** [frəθ], **frothy** ['frəθɪ], **myth** [mɪθ], **mythology** [mɪ'θɒlədʒɪ].

**348.** A **th** of the spelling is pronounced [t] in **thyme** [taɪm], **Thomas** ['tʌməs], [təməs], **Thompson** ['tʌmpsn̩], [təmpsn̩]. For **isthmus** only ['ɪsθməs] is current in America, but in England both ['ɪsθməs] and ['ɪstməs]. In rapid speech the word may become ['ɪsməs]. For **Esther** the common pronunciation is ['ɛstə], but occasionally also ['ɛsθə]. The **Thames**, a river in England and in Connecticut, is always [tɛmz]. The proper name **Anthony** is usually ['ænthəni], sometimes ['æntəni], though when pronounced in the latter way, it is usually made to conform in spelling.

**349.** In the combination [fθ], [sθ], popular speech often has [t] for [θ], as in [fɪft] for **fifth** [fɪfθ] or [fɪftθ], [sɪkst] for **sixth** [sɪksθ] or [sɪkstθ]. In **months** popular speech often omits [θ], pronouncing the word [mʌns].

**350.** For standard **height** [haɪt], popular usage also has [haɪtθ], parallel to **width**, **breadth**, **length**.

## [ð]

**351.** This sound is the voiced equivalent of [θ] and is spelled **th**. In the earlier stages of the language [ð] occurred only between vowels or between a voiced consonant and a vowel. In relatively unstressed position, however, voiceless continuants tend to become voiced, [θ] becoming [ð], and many words like **this** [ðɪs], **that** [ðæt], **they** [ðeɪ], **thou** [ðəʊ], **then** [ðen], **than** [ðæn], **though** [ðəʊ], **with** [wɪð], which are only slightly stressed in the word groups in which they occur, have now [ð] instead of earlier [θ]. Analogy and the loss of vowels in unstressed syllables also obscure the old rule, so that now [ð] appears not only between vowels, but also finally in words like **bathe** [beɪð], **breathe** [briːð], **lathe** [leɪð], **clothe** [kloɪð], **sheathe** [ʃiːð], **wreath** [riːð], and many others.

**352.** Singular nouns with final [θ] may change to [ð] in the plural, as in **path** [pæθ], **paths** [pæðz], **bath** [bæθ], **baths** [bæðz], **moth** [mɒθ], **moths** [mɒðz]; but the analogy of the singular may maintain [θ] in the plural, as in **Goth** [gɔθ], **Goths** [gɔθs], **breath** [bræθ], **breaths** [bræθs], **death** [deθ], **deaths** [deθs]. A plural **moths** [mɒθs] is recorded in the dictionaries, but the only form the writer has ever heard is [mɒðz].

**353.** For **rhythm** both [rɪðm] and [rɪθm] occur, the former being much the more common. The same diversity of use appears in derivatives, as in **rhythmic**, **rhythmical**, but some speakers who pronounce [rɪðm] in the simple word, say [ˈrɪθmɪk], [ˈrɪθmɪkl] in the derivatives, the reason being that in the derivatives the consonant stands at the end of a syllable, not between two voiced sounds, as in [rɪðm].

354. For **asthma** the current formal pronunciation is [ˈæzðmə], though often also [ˈæzmə]. The British pronunciation is [ˈæsθmə], [ˈæsmə] or [ˈæstmə].

355. Before [z], in popular speech [ð] is often omitted, as in **clothes** [kloɪðz] pronounced [kloɪz], **oaths** [oɪðz] pronounced [oɪz], etc.

356. In the popular dialects [θ], [ð] sometimes completely disappear, being replaced by [t] and [d], as in **think** pronounced [tɪŋk], **that** pronounced [dæt], **with** pronounced [wɪt] or [wɪd].

### [f]

357. The representation of [f] in the ordinary spelling is **f**, **ff**, **gh** or **ph**, as in **find** [faɪnd], **stiff** [stɪf], **sniffed** [snɪft], **rough** [rʌf], **cough** [kəʊf], **Brough** [brʌf], **laugh** [lɑːf], [læf], **nephew** [ˈnefju], **philosophy** [fɪlˈɒsəfi], **sylph** [sɪlf]. For **lieutenant** [luˈtenənt] the pronunciation [lefˈtenənt], [lɪf-], is sometimes heard, but it is not general with any group of American speakers. It is common in England. For **nephew** both [ˈnefju] and [ˈnevju] occur, though the former is the more general pronunciation. For **hiccough** the only pronunciation is [ˈhɪkəp]. For the history of this word, see the New English Dictionary.

358. In the connected discourse of colloquial usage, a final [v] is sometimes assimilated to a succeeding voiceless consonant, becoming [f], as in **I have to go** [ə ˈhæf tə ˈgoʊ]. But what might be permissible in this phrase, is not permissible generally, e.g., one cannot say **I'd love to go** [aɪd ˈlʌf tə ˈgoʊ].

359. In the combination **phth** the pronunciation [f] for **ph** is sometimes replaced by [p], as in **diphthong** [ˈdɪfθŋ]



or [ˈdɪpθəŋ], **diphtheria** [dɪfˈθɪrɪə] or [dɪpˈθɪrɪə], **naphtha** [ˈnæfθə] or [ˈnæpθə]. The pronunciation with [f] is perhaps to be preferred, though usage is far from being uniform. See § 299. For **phthisic** the accepted pronunciation is [ˈtɪzɪk], but **phthisis** is said to be pronounced [ˈθaɪsɪs]. Neither word is in common use.

## [v]

360. This sound is the voiced equivalent of [f], and is commonly represented by **v**, as in **live** [lɪv] (*verb*), [laɪv] (*adj.*), **vivid** [ˈvɪvɪd], **shoved** [ʃʌvd], **dived** [daɪvd]. In **nephew** [ˈnevju] and **Stephen** [ˈstɪvən] it is spelled **ph**.

361. When [f] of a main form becomes voiced in an inflectional form, the spelling always changes to **v**, as in **wife** [waɪf], **wives** [waɪvz], **loaf** [loʊf], **loaves** [loʊvz], etc., but **wife's** [waɪfs], **griefs** [ɡriːfs], **laughs** [lɑːfs], [læfs], third singular present of the verb, or plural of the noun, where the consonant remains unchanged.

Some plurals have both a form with [f] and one with [v], as in **hoof** [huːf], **hoofs** [huːfs] or **hooves** [huːvz]; **scarf** [skɑːf], **scarfs** [skɑːfs] or **scarves** [skɑːvz]. The plural of **staff** is **staffs**, except as a technical term in music, where it is **staves** [steɪvz].

362. In archaic and poetic style an intervocalic [v] is sometimes omitted, the omission being indicated by the apostrophe, as in **e'er** [eɪə] for **ever**, **o'er** [oʊə] for **over**, etc.

363. The preposition **of** usually stands in unstressed position and is pronounced [əv], or in rapid speech [ə], as in **five o'clock** [faɪv ə klɒk], **time of day** [taɪm ə deɪ], **man of war** [mæn ə wɔːr].

364. Final [v] in **give** is sometimes omitted before [m] in colloquial speech, **give me** ['gɪv mɪ] becoming ['gɪ mɪ]. This is spelled in dialect orthography as *gimme*, and though by no means limited to illiterate or dialect use, under the influence of the printed and written language it is coming to be more and more discredited. Cf. **let me** pronounced ['ləmɪ], and see above, § 100.

## [w]

365. The spelling of this sound is commonly **w**, as in **win** [wɪn], **swing** [swɪŋ], **twig** [twɪɡ], **between** [brɪ'twiːn], or **u**, as in **languid** ['læŋɡwɪd], **language** [læŋ'ɡwɪdʒ], **persuade** [pəɹ'sweɪd], and **u** after **q**, as in **quire** ['kwaɪə], **question** ['kwɛstʃən], **quack** [kwæk], **conquest** ['kɒŋkwɛst] or ['kɑŋkwɛst].

366. The spelling **gu** represents usually [g], as in **guard** [ɡɑːd], **guest** [ɡɛst], **guide** [ɡaɪd], **guess** [ɡɛs], **guile** [ɡaɪl], etc., but in a few words of foreign origin, as in **guano** ['ɡwɑːno], **guava** ['ɡwaɪvə], and in **Guelph** [ɡwɛlf], the **u** is pronounced.

367. The sound [w] appears in **one** [wʌn], **once** [wʌns], in pronunciation but not in spelling. The verb **won** and **one** are exact homonyms. A **w** appears in the spelling of **two** [tuː], **sword** [sɔːd], but not in pronunciation. Before **r** a silent **w** is frequently written, as in **wring** [rɪŋ], **write** [wraɪt], **wrap** [ræp], **wrist** [rɪst], etc. For **choir** the pronunciation is the same as for **quire**, that is ['kwaɪə].

368. In a few words of French origin the ending **-oir** is pronounced [-waɪ] or [-wəɪ], as in **memoir** ['mɛmwaɪ], ['mɛmwaɪ], **reservoir** ['rɛzə'vwɪ], ['rɛzə'vwɪ]; but **reservoir** is also often pronounced without [w], as ['rɛzə'vɔɪə].

369. An initial **w** of an unstressed syllable following a stressed one sometimes weakens and disappears, as regularly in **answer** ['ænsə], and in the combination **qu** in **chequer** ['tʃekə], **conquer** ['kʌŋkə], **liquor** ['likə]. In compositional syllables, like **-ward**, **-worth**, **-wich**, **-wick**, which have a secondary stress in American speech, **w** is generally pronounced when written; but in **toward**, **towards** [tə:ɪd], [tə:ɪdz] the words are monosyllables without [w]. Thus in proper names, as in **Woodward**, **Woolworth**, **Woolwich** (Maine), **Norwich**, **Greenwich**, etc., [w] is pronounced, except that one may occasionally hear ['grɪ:nɪtʃ], ['grɪnɪtʃ], as a literary or acquired pronunciation. In the town in Connecticut of that name, the local pronunciation is ['grɪn`wɪtʃ].

370. A **w** frequently appears in spelling, at the ends of words, which has no consonantal value but is merely an orthographic survival from an earlier [w] which became vocalic and which would thus be more accurately represented by **u**. Conventional spelling, however, rarely permits **u** to stand at the end of a word, exceptions being **thou** [ðəʊ], and a few foreign words like **gnu** [nu], **zebu** ['zi:bʊ]. A vocalized **w** stands in the spelling of **draw** [drə:], **know** [nou], **sow** [sou], [saʊ], **few** [fju:], **grew** [gru:], **now** [naʊ], etc. The spelling with **w** persists in derivative forms, but is silent there also, as in **drawing** ['drɔ:ɪŋ], **sower** ['so:ə], **fewer** ['fju:ə].

371. A **w** with no consonantal value appears occasionally in spelling before consonants, as in **bawl** [bə:ɪ], **yawl** [jə:ɪ], **hawk** [hə:k], **bowl** [bo:ɪ], **howl** [haʊ], **brown** [braʊn], **drowse** [draʊz], **newt** [nju:t], **mewl** [mju:ɪ], or before a weak syllable with [ɹ], [l], [n], as in **power** ['paʊə], **towel** ['taʊəl], **Owen** ['o:ən], **Cowan** ['kauən], etc.

## [ʌ]

372. This sound is the voiceless equivalent of [w], and in America it is generally pronounced wherever written **wh**, as in **what** [ʌt], **which** [ʌɪtʃ], **wheat** [ʌi:t], **whit** [ʌɪt], **white** [ʌaɪt], **whisper** [ˈʌɪspəɪ], etc. Some speakers, however, pronounce all these voiceless sounds voiced, as in **whit** [wɪt] not distinguished from **wit**, **white** [waɪt] not distinguished from **wight**. Though not vulgarisms, such pronunciations are usually discountenanced by careful speakers and in formal instruction. In standard British speech of the Southern type **w** and **wh** are generally both pronounced as [w].

373. In **who** and derived forms of **who**, **whole**, the initial consonant is neither [w] nor [ʌ], but [h], as in [hu:], [ho:l]. So also **whoop**, **whooping-cough**, which may be spelled **hoop**, **hooping-cough**, are pronounced [hu:p], [ˈhu:pɪŋ-] or [ˈhʊpɪŋˈkɔ:f].

## EXERCISES

(1) Make a collection of sounds not used in articulate speech (e.g., the sigh, cough, cluck, click, sniff, 'humph,' 'huh,' 'eh,' 'hm,' the sound for calling a cat, for starting horses, etc.), and analyze them phonetically. Record them in phonetic script, inventing symbols when necessary. See §§ 3, 4.

(2) Take a page of any ordinary English prose and make a list in phonetic script of all the words containing (a) voiced stops, (b) voiceless stops, (c) voiced continuants, (d) voiceless continuants.

(3) In these words, note what sounds have been affected, and in what way, by their proximity to other sounds. See § 6.

(4) Make a list from the same passage of all words containing fricative continuants, lateral continuants and nasal continuants.

(5) Make lists in phonetic script of all the words on this same page which contain the same vowel sound.

(6) Go through this page and note the instances in which the ordinary spelling is the same or approximately the same as the phonetic transcriptions.

(7) In the same passage, observe where the breaks or pauses come in natural easy reading. Transcribe the passage into these 'breath groups' instead of the usual division into words. See § 100.

A minute study of a single passage, such as is suggested in Exercises 2-7, is better preliminary discipline than the study of scattering texts.



(8) Practice the vowel sounds in sequence, starting with the lowest unround vowel and proceeding to the highest, then the lowest rounded vowel, proceeding to the highest; reverse the process, starting with the high vowels.

(9) Practice such pairs of sounds as [e] and [ɛ], [i] and [ɪ], [u] and [ʊ], [o] and [ɔ], [ʌ] and [ʌɪ], [ɔ] and [ɔɪ], until the distinction between tense and slack sounds is quite clear.

(10) Pronounce the sentences **It was covered with furs**, **It was covered with firs**, **It was covered with furze**, **It was covered with fuzz**, to a hearer, and see if he can tell when you mean **furs**, **firs**, **furze**, **fuzz**. If you do not pronounce these words alike, analyze the organic differences.

As a similar exercise pronounce the sentence **The container was well caulked** and **The container was well corked**, and see if a hearer can tell which word you have in mind. If so, extend the experiment to other persons to see if the words are always audibly distinct.

(11) Make a collection of difficult phrases, like **Peter Piper pickt a peck of pickled peppers**, **She sells sea-shells**, etc., and analyze their phonetic character. Make a collection of phrases which are memorable not for their difficulty but for their phonetic 'haunting' quality, agreeable or disagreeable, e.g., **a pink trip slip for a five cent fare**; **the exhaustless grace of Niagara's emerald curve**; **the multitudinous seas incarnadine**, etc. Each person's list will naturally be different from any other. Make a list of alliterative phrases, like **bag and baggage**, **stock and stone**, **head and heels**, **time and tide**. Make a list of striking alliterative phrases, such as are often met with in newspaper headlines. An interesting study of consonant sounds can be made on the basis of **Lyly's**

*Euphues*, or still better, George Pettie's *Petite Pallace of Pleasure* (1576), in which the resources of the language in sounds are utilized with the utmost ingenuity for the purpose of stylistic ornamentation.

(12) Take a word containing an initial voiceless stop, e.g., **pay**, and practice this stop with and without audible aspiration until the difference becomes clear. See § 13. Then pronounce words containing a voiceless stop between voiced sounds, as in **witty**, **putty**, **potato**, **dainty**, **bottle**, **pippin**, **winter**, **better**, **water**, **stopper**, etc., with weak and with audible aspiration, and note which is the better pronunciation. See § 14.

(13) Analyze fully the phonetic elements of a number of words like **stripped**, **booked**, **robbed**, **drugged**. See § 15.

(14) Repeat pairs of words like **sit** and **sin**, **pit** and **pin**, **bid** and **bin**, **did** and **din**, and then segregate the final consonants in order to study the difference between stop consonants and nasal continuants.

(15) Repeat pairs of words like **sin** and **sing**, **win** and **wing**, to make clear the difference between [n] and [ŋ].

(16) Repeat groups of words like **sin**, **sing**, **sink**; **win**, **wing**, **wink**; **thin**, **thing**, **think**, and then analyze their phonetic elements.

(17) Note the sound of [n] in **fount**, **found**; **shunt**, **shunned**; **sun**, **sunset**, **Sunday**, **sunbeam**. Is it equally long in all these words? Study in general the length of the continuant consonants in different combinations.

(18) Note the length of the vowel in **led**, **let**; **bed**, **bet**; **said**, **set**; **sad**, **sat**; **hod**, **hot**, etc. Though these are all short vowels, are they all equally short? Cf. § 80.

(19) Examine all the occurrences of [z] on a page of ordinary prose, and note in what instances the sound ends in a voiceless vanish. See § 36.

(20) Study the difference in the sound of [ŋ] in **sing** and **song**, and collect other words illustrating the same difference.

(21) Study the sound of [k] in **keel** and **call**, of [g] in **geese** and **gall**, of [h] in **heel** and **haul**, and add other illustrations of the same variation in the quality of the consonant.

(22) Imitate the speech of one who has a cold in the head, and indicate its phonetic character in transcription.

(23) Take a passage of ordinary colloquial prose and pronounce the vowels as nasally as you can, that is, caricature it. Then pronounce the vowels with as little nasalization as possible. Does your own speech fall between these two extremes?

(24) Observe in the speech of those with whom you come in contact, any manner of speech which might be characterized as 'drawling,' and describe its phonetic character.

(25) Some of the vague descriptive adjectives which are occasionally applied to speech or to special sounds are 'broad,' 'rough,' 'flat,' 'liquid,' 'thin,' 'mushy,' 'muddy,' 'crisp,' 'sharp.' Add others to this list, and endeavor to determine what is meant by them in terms of the organic analysis of speech.

(26) Make a collection of those speech characteristics which in your estimation are evidences (a) of special refinement or distinction in speech, (b) of 'common' or unrefined speech. Try to determine how generally your judgments would be acceptable to others.

(27) Examine the pronunciation of **r** in the speech of as many different persons as possible, and note how many types of **r**-sound are distinguishable within the range of your observation.

(28) Start a list of words which may be stressed in two or more different ways.

(29) Transcribe in phonetic notation (a) first your own speech in detached phrases as you can hear yourself pronounce them, (b) your own speech in connected conversation, (c) your own speech as you hear it in reading aloud.

(30) Transcribe in phonetic notation the speech of some other person or persons than yourself. For this purpose, choose one or two individuals whose speech you have the best opportunity of studying, and preferably whose speech impresses you as being ordinarily somewhat different from your own. Proceed very slowly at first, transcribing only phrases which you are sure you have heard correctly.

(31) Take a passage of English prose and transcribe it first into very formal literary style, then into ordinary reading style, and then into very familiar colloquial style.

(32) If your own speech is of the Eastern American type, transcribe a passage illustrating it into Western American speech, etc.

(33) Transcribe the passages of dialect speech given in this volume into informal standard speech.

(34) Make a transcription of some dialect speech with which you are orally familiar. Indicate the elements in this pronunciation which are really dialectal and those which are merely standard colloquial.

(35) Transcribe the passages of British pronunciation given in this volume into standard American pronunciation.

These exercises are not systematically arranged, and are not intended to be exhaustive either of the topics

discussed in this book or of the points of interest which may engage the attention of the student of phonetics. They are merely suggestive, and the number of them will readily be increased in the practical work of the classroom.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

OF the numerous works on general phonetics, perhaps the most useful brief books in English are *Elements of Phonetics* by Walter Rippmann (on the basis of Viëtor's *Kleine Phonetik*), published by J. M. Dent and Sons; *Introduction to Phonetics* by Laura Soames (The Macmillan Co.); *General Phonetics* by G. Noël-Armfield (W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, Eng., 1915). For special studies of English pronunciation, reference may be made to *The Pronunciation of English* by Daniel Jones (Cambridge University Press), and to various other publications by Jones, including *A Phonetic Dictionary of the English Language* by Hermann Michaelis and Daniel Jones (Carl Meyer, Hannover and Berlin); *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland* by William Grant (Cambridge University Press); *Northern English* by R. J. Lloyd (Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, 1908), particularly valuable for the comparison of British and American English; *The Sounds of Spoken English* by Walter Rippmann (J. M. Dent and Sons). Little has been done in the way of special study of American speech, but reference should be made to Professor Grandgent's article, *English in America*, in *Die Neueren Sprachen*, II, 443-467 (1894), where a further bibliography of publications by Professor Grandgent will be found; also in the same journal, II, 520-528, a group of phonetic transcriptions. *From Franklin to Lowell, A Century of New England Pronunciation*, by Professor Grandgent, in the Publications

of the Modern Language Association, XIV, 207-239, gives a valuable historical survey of New England speech. The various numbers of *Dialect Notes*, the publication of the American Dialect Society, should also be consulted. On the general question of standard, the student may consult the two books by Professor Lounsbury, *The Standard of Usage in English* and *The Standard of Pronunciation in English* (Harpers, New York). For the general history of English sounds, see Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, Part I, Sounds and Spellings (Winter, Heidelberg, 1909). As a number of the books mentioned in this note are appearing from time to time in new editions, it is advisable in ordering always to ask for the latest edition.

## TRANSCRIPTIONS

### I

#### 'dei-'dri:mz

æz ai wəz ste:pɪŋ ə'ʃɔɪ, ai wəz 'grɪtɪd baɪ 'mɪstəɪ  
bəɪn, hu 'pæsɪz ðə 'sɑməɪ ɒn ðɪ 'aɪlənd, nd hu 'hɑs-  
pɪtəblɪ æskt ɪf ai wəɪ 'goɪŋ hɪz weɪ. hɪz weɪ wəz  
təʊnd ðə 'sɑðəm end əv ðɪ 'aɪlənd, nd ai sed jəs. hɪz  
5 'pɑkɪts wəɪ fʊl əv 'peɪpəɪz nd hɪz brəʊ əv 'rɪŋklz; so  
æm wɪ rɪ:tʃt ðə pɔɪnt məɪ hi: ʃʊd təɪn əɪf, ai æskt  
ɪm tə let mɪ ə'lɑɪt, əl'ðo: hi wəz 'veri 'æŋkʃəs tə  
'kæɪ mɪ məɪ'evəɪ ai wəz 'goɪŋ.

10 "aim 'oʊnli 'stroɪlɪŋ ə'baut," ai 'ænsəɪd, æz ai  
'klæmbəɪd 'keɪfəli aʊt əv ðə 'wægn.

"'stroɪlɪŋ ə'baut?" æskt hi:, ɪn ə br'wɪldəɪd 'mæ-  
nəɪ; "du 'pi:pl stroɪl ə'baut, 'nəʊ-ə-'deɪz?"

15 "səm'taɪmz," ai 'ænsəɪd, 'smɑɪlɪŋ, æz ai puld məɪ  
'traʊzəɪz daʊn 'ovəɪ məɪ buɪts, fəɪ ðeː hæd drægd  
ʌp, æz ai stept aʊt əv ðə 'wægn, "nd br'saɪd, mət  
kn n oɪld 'buːkɪ:pəɪ du 'betəɪ ɪn ðə dəl 'sɪzn ðən  
stroɪl ə'baut ðɪs 'pleznt 'aɪlənd, n wətʃ ðə ʃɪps æt  
sɪɪ?"

20 bæɪn lʊkt æt mɪ wɪð hɪz 'wɪəri aɪz. "aɪd gɪv faɪv  
'ðəʊzənd 'dæləɪz ə 'jɪə fəɪ ə dəl 'sɪzn," sed hi:,  
"bət æz fəɪ 'stroɪlɪŋ, aɪv fəɪ'gətn həʊ."

æz hi spəʊk, hɪz aɪz 'wəndəɪd 'dri:mɪli ə'krəs ðə  
fɪldz nd wʊdz, nd wəɪ 'fæsnd ə'pɒn ðə 'dɪstənt seɪlz.

“it iz ‘pleznt,” hi sed ‘mjuzɪnli, ænd fel ‘mtu ‘sai-  
 25 ləns. bæt ai həd no taim tə speɪ, so ai wɪʃt ɪm ‘gud-  
 ‘æftə’num.

“ai hoɪp jəɪ waɪf s wel,” sed bəɪn tə mi, æz ai  
 təɪnd ə’wei. ‘puəɪ bəɪn! hi droɪv ən ə’loɪn ɪn hɪz  
 ‘wægn.

30 bæt ai meɪd heɪst tə ðə moɪst ‘sali’təri pɔɪnt əpən  
 ðə ‘sɪðəm ʃəɪ, ænd ðeɪ sæt, glæd tə bi so ‘niəɪ ðə  
 siɪ. ðeɪ wəz ðæt wəɪm, ‘sɪmpə’θetɪk ‘sailəns ɪn ði  
 eɪ, ðæt gɪvz tə ‘ɪndɪn-‘səməɪ deɪz ‘ol’mo:st ə ‘hju-  
 mən ‘tendəməs əv ‘fɪlɪŋ. ə ‘delɪkɪt heɪz, ðæt siɪnd  
 35 ‘oɪnli ðə ‘kaɪndli eɪ meɪd ‘vɪzɪbl, hən ovəɪ ðə siɪ.  
 ðə ‘wətəɪ læpt ‘læŋgwɪdli ə’mən ðə rəks, ænd ðə  
 ‘voɪsəz əv ‘tʃɪldrən ɪn ə boɪt bɪ’jənd, ræn ‘mjuzɪkəli,  
 ænd ‘grædʒuəli rɪ’sɪdɪd, ən’tɪl ðeɪ wəz ləst ɪn ðə  
 ‘dɪstəns.

40 it wəz sɑm taim bɪ’fəɪ ai wəz ə’weɪ əv ði ‘aʊt-  
 ‘ləɪn əv ə laɪdʒ ʃɪp, drəm ‘veɪgli ə’pən ðə mɪst, mɪʃ  
 ai sə’pɔɪzd, æt fəɪst, tə bi ‘oɪnli ə kaɪnd əv mɪ’rɑ:ʒ.  
 bæt ðə məɪ ‘sted’fæstli ai geɪzd, ðə məɪ dɪs’tɪŋkt ɪt  
 bɪ’keɪm, ænd ai kud no ‘læŋgəɪ daʊt ðæt ai sə: ə  
 45 ‘steɪtli ʃɪp ‘laɪnɪ æt ‘æŋkəɪ, nat məɪ ðən hæf ə maɪl  
 frəm ðə lænd.

“ɪts n ɪk’strɔ:di’nəri pleɪs tə ‘æŋkəɪ,” ai sed tə  
 ‘maɪ’self, “əɪ kæn ʃi bi ə’ʃəɪ?”

ðeɪ wəz no saɪnz əv dɪs’tres; ðə seɪlz wəz ‘keɪnfəli  
 50 klɪd ʌp, ænd ðeɪ wəz no ‘seɪləz ɪn ðə taps, nəɪ  
 ə’pən ðə ʃraʊdz. ə flæg, əv mɪʃ ai kud nat si: ðə  
 dɪ’vaɪs əɪ ‘neɪʃən, hən ‘hevɪli æt ðə stəɪn, ænd lukt  
 æz ɪf ɪt həd ‘fəɪn ə’sliɪp. maɪ ‘kjʊri’asɪti bɪ’gæn tə  
 bi ‘sɪŋgjuləɪli ɪk’saɪtɪd. ðə fəɪm əv ðə ‘vesl siɪnd  
 55 nat tə bi ‘pəɪmənənt; bæt wɪð’ɪn ə ‘kwətəɪ əv ən  
 ‘aʊəɪ, ai wəz ‘ʃʊəɪ ðæt ai həd sɪm hæf ə ‘da:zn ‘dɪf-

rænt ʃɪps. æz aɪ geɪzd, aɪ sɔɪ no məʊ seɪlz nəɪ mæsts,  
bæt ə lɒŋ reɪndʒ əv 'ɔɪəɪz, 'flæʃɪŋ laɪk ə 'ɡoʊldn frɪndʒ,  
ɔɪ streɪt nd stɪf, laɪk ðə leɪgz əv ə 'sɪr-'mɒnstəɪ.

60 "its sam 'blɔɪtɪd kræb, əɪ 'ləbstəɪ, 'mæɡnɪ'fæɪd baɪ  
ðə mɪst," aɪ sed tə maɪ'self, kəm'ple'səntli.

bæt, æt ðə seɪm 'moɪmənt, ðeɪ wəz ə 'kænsən'tre-tɪd  
'flæʃɪŋ nd 'bleɪzɪŋ ɪn wʌn spɒt ə'mʌŋ ðə 'rɪɡɪŋ, ænd  
ɪt wəz æz ɪf aɪ sɔɪ ə bɪ'ætɪfæɪd ræm, ɔɪ, məʊ 'truɪli, ə  
75 'ʃɪp-'skɪn, 'splendɪd æz ðə heɪɪ əv 'berə'naɪsɪ.

"ɪz ðæt ðə 'ɡoʊldn flɪɪs?" aɪ θɔɪt. "bæt 'ʃʊəli, 'dʒeɪ-  
sən nd ðɪ 'aɪɡə'nɔɪts hæv ɡəɪn hoɪm lɒŋ sɪns. du  
'piːpl ɡoɪ ɔn 'ɡoʊld-'flɪɪsɪŋ ɛksprɪ'dɪʃənz naʊ?" aɪ æskt  
maɪ'self, ɪn pəɪ'pleksɪti. "kæn ðɪs bɪ ə kæli'fəʊnjə  
70 'stɪməɪ?"

hʌʊ kʊd aɪ hæv θɔɪt ɪt ə 'stɪməɪ? dɪd aɪ nɒt sɪɪ  
ðoɪz seɪlz, "θɪn ənd 'sɪə"? dɪd aɪ nɒt fɪl ðə 'melən-  
'kʌli əv ðæt 'sʌli'terɪ baɪk? ɪt hæd ə 'mɪstɪk 'ɔɪrə;  
ə 'bɔɪəl 'brɪljənsɪ 'ʃɪməɪd ɪn ɪts weɪk, fɔɪ ɪt wəz  
75 'drɪftɪŋ 'sɪwɔɪd. ə streɪndʒ 'fɪə 'kæɪdlɪ ə'lɒŋ maɪ  
veɪnz. ðæt 'sʌməɪ sʌn ʃoɪn kuɪl. ðə 'wɪəri 'bætəɪd  
ʃɪp wəz ɡæʃt, æz ɪf nɔɪd baɪ aɪs. ðeɪ wəz 'terəɪ ɪn  
ðə eɪɪ, æz ə "'skɪni hænd so braʊn" weɪvd tu mi  
frəm ðə dek. aɪ lei æz wʌn bɪ'wɪtʃt. ðə hænd əv ðɪ  
80 'eɪntʃənt 'mæɪnəɪ sɪmd tə bɪ 'rɪtʃɪŋ fɔɪ mi, laɪk ðə  
hænd əv deθ.

deθ? maɪ, æz aɪ wəz 'ɪnli 'preɪŋ pruɪz fɔɪ'ɡɪvnəs  
fɔɪ maɪ 'sʌli'terɪ 'ræmbl nd 'kænsɪ'kwent dɪ'maɪz, ə  
ɡlæns laɪk ðə 'fʊlnəs əv 'sʌməɪ 'splendəɪ ɡʌʃt ovəɪ  
85 mi; ðɪ 'oɪdəɪ əv 'flaʊəɪz ənd əv 'ɪstəɪn ɡʌmz meɪd  
ɔɪl ðɪ 'ætməs'fɪəɪ. aɪ brɪθd ðɪ 'ɔɪrɪ'ent, ənd lei  
drʌŋk wɪð baɪm, maɪl ðæt streɪndʒ ʃɪp, ə 'ɡoʊldn  
'ɡæli naʊ, wɪð 'ɡlɪtərɪŋ 'dreɪpə'rɪz fes'tʊnd wɪð  
'flaʊəɪz, peɪst tu ðə 'mɛʒəɪd bɪɪt əv 'ɔɪəɪz ə'lɒŋ ðə





glitærɪŋ krəs? hu: wəz hi: 'stændɪŋ ə'pɒn ðə dek  
 wɪð 'fɔɪldɪd aɪmz ænd 'geɪzɪŋ tɔɪdʒ ðə ʃɔɪ, æz 'lʌvəɪz  
 ɒn ðeɪ 'mɪstrɪsəz ænd 'maɪtɪɪz ə'pɒn 'hevn? 'ovər  
 125 mət 'dɪstənt ænd tu'mʌltʃuəs sɪz hæd ðɪs smɔɪl  
 kræft ɪ'skeɪpt frəm 'ʌðər 'sentʃurɪz ænd 'dɪstənt  
 ʃɔɪz? mət saʊndz əv 'fɔrɪn hɪmz, fər'gætɪn nəʊ, wəz  
 ðɪz, ænd mət so'lemnɪtɪ əv 'dɪ-bər'keɪʃən? wəz ðɪs  
 greɪv fɔɪm kə'lʌmbəs?

### Day-dreams

As I was stepping ashore, I was greeted by Mr. Bourne, who passes the summer on the island, and who hospitably asked if I were going his way. His way was toward the southern end of the island, and I said yes. His pockets were full of papers and his brow of wrinkles; so when we reached the point where he should turn off, I asked him to let me alight, although he was very anxious to carry me wherever I was going.

"I am only strolling about," I answered, as I clambered carefully out of the wagon.

"Strolling about?" asked he, in a bewildered manner; "do people stroll about, now-a-days?"

"Sometimes," I answered, smiling, as I pulled my trousers down over my boots, for they had dragged up, as I stepped out of the wagon, "and beside, what can an old bookkeeper do better in the dull season than stroll about this pleasant island, and watch the ships at sea?"

Bourne looked at me with his weary eyes.

"I'd give five thousand dollars a year for a dull season," said he, "but as for strolling, I've forgotten how."

As he spoke, his eyes wandered dreamily across the fields and woods, and were fastened upon the distant sails.

"It is pleasant," he said musingly, and fell into silence. But I had no time to spare, so I wished him good-afternoon.

"I hope your wife is well," said Bourne to me, as I turned away. Poor Bourne! He drove on alone in his wagon.

But I made haste to the most solitary point upon the southern shore, and there sat, glad to be so near the sea. There was that warm, sympathetic silence in the air, that gives to Indian-summer days almost a human tenderness of feeling. A delicate haze, that seemed only the kindly air made visible, hung over the sea. The water lapped languidly among the rocks, and the voices of children in a boat beyond, rang musically, and gradually receded, until they were lost in the distance.

It was some time before I was aware of the outline of a large ship, drawn vaguely upon the mist, which I supposed, at first, to be only a kind of mirage. But the more steadfastly I gazed, the more distinct it became, and I could no longer doubt that I saw a stately ship lying at anchor, not more than half a mile from the land.

"It is an extraordinary place to anchor," I said to myself, "or can she be ashore?"

There were no signs of distress; the sails were carefully clewed up, and there were no sailors in the tops, nor upon the shrouds. A flag, of which I could not see the device or the nation, hung heavily at the stern, and looked as if it had fallen asleep. My curi-

osity began to be singularly excited. The form of the vessel seemed not to be permanent; but within a quarter of an hour, I was sure that I had seen half a dozen different ships. As I gazed, I saw no more sails nor masts, but a long range of oars, flashing like a golden fringe, or straight and stiff, like the legs of a sea-monster.

"It is some bloated crab, or lobster, magnified by the mist," I said to myself, complacently.

But, at the same moment, there was a concentrated flashing and blazing in one spot among the rigging, and it was as if I saw a beatified ram, or, more truly, a sheep-skin, splendid as the hair of Berenice.

"Is that the golden fleece?" I thought. "But, surely, Jason and the Argonauts have gone home long since. Do people go on gold-fleece expeditions now?" I asked myself, in perplexity. "Can this be a California steamer?"

How could I have thought it a steamer? Did I not see those sails, "thin and sere"? Did I not feel the melancholy of that solitary bark? It had a mystic aura; a boreal brilliancy shimmered in its wake, for it was drifting seaward. A strange fear curdled along my veins. That summer sun shone cool. The weary, battered ship was gashed, as if gnawed by ice. There was terror in the air, as a "skinny hand so brown" waved to me from the deck. I lay as one bewitched. The hand of the ancient mariner seemed to be reaching for me, like the hand of death.

Death? Why, as I was inly praying Prue's forgiveness for my solitary ramble and consequent de-

mise, a glance like the fulness of summer splendor gushed over me; the odor of flowers and of eastern gums made all the atmosphere. I breathed the orient, and lay drunk with balm, while that strange ship, a golden galley now, with glittering draperies festooned with flowers, paced to the measured beat of oars along the calm, and Cleopatra smiled alluringly from the great pageant's heart.

Was this a barge for summer waters, this peculiar ship I saw? It had a ruined dignity, a cumbrous grandeur, although its masts were shattered, and its sails rent. It hung preternaturally still upon the sea, as if tormented and exhausted by long driving and drifting. I saw no sailors, but a great Spanish ensign floated over, and waved, a funereal plume. I knew it then. The armada was long since scattered; but, floating far

on desolate rainy seas,

lost for centuries, and again restored to sight, here lay one of the fated ships of Spain. The huge galleon seemed to fill all the air, built up against the sky, like the gilded ships of Claude Lorraine against the sunset.

But it fled, for now a black flag fluttered at the mast-head — a long low vessel darted swiftly where the vast ship lay; there came a shrill piping whistle, the clash of cutlasses, fierce ringing oaths, sharp pistol cracks, the thunder of command, and over all the gusty yell of a demoniac chorus,

My name was Robert Kidd, when I sailed.

— There were no clouds longer, but under a serene sky I saw a bark moving with festal pomp, thronged with grave senators in flowing robes, and one with



ducal bonnet in the midst, holding a ring. The smooth bark swam upon a sea like that of southern latitudes. I saw the *Bucentoro* and the nuptials of Venice and the Adriatic.

Who were those coming over the side? Who crowded the boats, and sprang into the water, men in old Spanish armor, with plumes and swords, and bearing a glittering cross? Who was he standing upon the deck with folded arms and gazing towards the shore, as lovers on their mistresses and martyrs upon heaven? Over what distant and tumultuous seas had this small craft escaped from other centuries and distant shores? What sounds of foreign hymns, forgotten now, were these, and what solemnity of debarkation? Was this grave form Columbus?

## REMARKS

This passage from *Prue and I*, by George William Curtis, was chosen for transcription because it calls for a considerable range of styles, from familiar colloquial to a formal poetic and rhetorical style. It is transcribed into what seem to the author the least questionable forms of standard speech, that is, the forms least limited by geographical or other considerations. It is not to be taken therefore as a record of the author's individual pronunciation, but of what in his judgment is as satisfactory a representation as can be made of an accepted general standard in American speech. The author's native speech is that of Southern Ohio, though for the past twenty years he has been a resident of New York City, and it is of course quite likely that his observations have been, in some degree, colored by his early habits of speech.

[der-dri:mz]. The diphthongal quality in [der-] is not strongly marked, but sufficiently so to justify recording it, and so generally in final position and also before voiced consonants, e.g., [derz], l. 12, [seilz], l. 23, etc.

1. 2. [bəɪn]. The name might also be pronounced [ˈbuːɪn], [ˈbuːəɪn].

[ˈpæsɪz]. Some speakers might say [ˈpæsəz], and so generally with final unstressed syllables in **-es**, **-ed**.

[ˈhæspɪtəblɪ]. Or [ˈhæspɪtəbli], but not with the stress on the second syllable. This variation between [a] and [ɔ] occurs in a number of other words.

1. 3. [æskt]. Or [aːskt], [aːskt].

1. 5. [ˈpækɪts]. Or [ˈpɒkɪts]. Is [ˈpækəts] permissible?

1. 6. [æɪ]. The vowel in **where**, **there**, when these are slightly stressed words, should be transcribed as short, [æɪ], [ðɪɪ].

1. 7. [ɪm]. More formally, [hɪm].

[ˈæŋkʃəs]. Better than [ˈæŋʃəs].

1. 13. [səmˈtaɪmz]. The word might also be pronounced [ˈsəm-ˈtaɪmz].

1. 15. [nd brɪˈsaɪd], etc. Informal conversational style.

1. 19. [ˈwɪəri]. Or [ˈwiːri], though less commonly.

1. 22. [ˈwɒndəɪd]. Or [ˈwəndəɪd].

1. 23. [fɪldz]. Less correctly, [fɪlz].

1. 24. [ænd fel], etc. This clause is transcribed in slow and formal style. The sentence immediately following is again brisker and more informal.

1. 30. [meɪd]. The vowel is half-long or short here, because so slightly stressed.

1. 54. [ˈvesl]. Sometimes pronounced [ˈvɛsəl] or [ˈvɛsəl], but not in standard speech.

1. 62. [bæt]. Usually unemphatic, [bət], but stressed here.

1. 64. [wəz]. Somewhat emphatic here.

1. 72. [ˈsiəɪ]. Perhaps also [ˈsiəɪ].

[ˈmɛlənˈkɒli]. Or [ˈmɛlənˈkɒli]; so also **solitary**, 1. 73, [ˈsɒliˈteri] or [ˈsɒliˈteri].

1. 86. [ˈɔriˈent]. Or [ˈoriˈent]. Less formally, [ˈɔriənt].

1. 92. [wəz]. Unstressed, but formal because of its important position in the sentence.

1. 98. [njuː]. Often pronounced [nuː].

1. 113. [pəmp]. Or [pamp], but in this word [ɔ] is more general than [ɑ].

1. 114. [ˈsɛnəˈtɔɪz]. Formal pronunciation.

1. 124. [ˈmɑːtɪɪz]. Less formally, [ˈmɑːtɪɪz]; so also [ˈdɪstənt],

1. 125, [ˈsɛntʃəriːz], 1. 126, [səˈlɛmnrɪ], 1. 128, [kəˈlambəs], 1. 129.

## II

## ðə 'lɒŋ əv ə mən əv 'saɪəns

mai fəɪst step, əv kɔɪs, wəz tə faɪnd 'sjutəbl  
 ə'paɪtmənts. ðiːz aɪ əb'teɪnd, 'æftəɪ ə 'kɑːpl əv deɪz  
 səɪtʃ, ɪn fəɪəθ 'ævənju; ə 'veri 'prɪtɪ 'sekənd-'fəɪə un-  
 'fəɪnɪst, kən'teɪnɪŋ 'sɪtɪŋ-'ruːm, 'bed-'ruːm, ænd ə  
 5 'smɔːləɪ ə'paɪtmənt aɪtʃ aɪ ɪn'tendɪd tə fɪt ʌp æz ə  
 'læbərə'tɔːrɪ. aɪ 'fəɪnɪst mai 'lɒdʒɪŋz 'sɪmplɪ, bət  
 'ræðəɪ 'eləɡəntli, ænd ðen dɪ'vɔɪtɪd ɔːl mai 'enəɪdʒɪz  
 tu ðɪ ə'dəɪnmənt əv ðə templ əv mai 'wɔːʃɪp. aɪ  
 'vɪzɪtɪd paɪk, ðə 'selə'breɪtɪd ʌp'tɪʃən, ænd pæst ɪn  
 10 rɪ'vjuː hɪz 'splendɪd kə'lektʃən əv 'maɪkrə'skɔːps, —  
 fɪldz 'kəm'paʊnd, 'hɪŋəmz, 'spensəɪz, nə'seɪz 'baɪ-  
 'nækjələɪ (ðæt 'faʊndɪd ɔn ðə 'prɪnsɪplz əv ðə 'sterɪəs-  
 'kɔɪp), ænd æt lɛŋkθ fɪkst ə'pɒn ðæt fəɪm nɔɪn æz  
 'spensəɪz 'trænʒən 'maɪkrə'skɔːp, æz kəm'bəɪnɪŋ ðə  
 15 'ɡreɪtɪst 'nʌmbəɪ əv ɪm'pruɪvmənts wɪð n 'ɔl'mɔːst  
 'pɜːfɪkt 'frɪːdəm frəm 'treməɪ. ə'lɒŋ wɪð ðɪs aɪ 'pɜː-  
 tɪʃɪst 'evrɪ 'pɒsɪbl æk'sesəri, — 'drɔː'tjuːbz, 'maɪ'kram-  
 ətəɪz, ə 'kəmərə-'lusɪdə, 'lɪvəɪ-'steɪdʒ, 'ækro'mæ-  
 tɪk kən'densəɪz, maɪt klaʊd ɪ'luːmɪ'neɪtəɪz, prɪzmz,  
 20 'pærə'bəlɪk kən'densəɪz, 'pɔɪlə'reɪzɪŋ əpə'rətəs, 'fəɪ-  
 sɛps, ə'kwatɪk 'bʌksəz, 'fɪʃɪŋ-'tjuːbz, wɪð ə hoɪst əv  
 'ʌðəɪ 'aɪtɪklz, ɔːl əv aɪtʃ wʊd əv bɪn 'juːʃəl ɪn ðə  
 hændz əv n ɪks'prɪənst maɪ'kraskopɪst, bʌt, æz aɪ  
 'æftərwɔːdz dɪ'skʌvəd, wəɪ nʌt əv ðə 'slɑːtɪst 'preznt  
 25 'vælju tə mɪ. ɪt teɪks 'jɪəz əv 'præktɪs tə nɔː haʊ tə  
 juːz ə 'kəmplɪ'keɪtɪd 'maɪkrə'skɔːp. ðɪ ʌp'tɪʃən lʊkt  
 səs'prɪʃəslɪ æt mɪ æz aɪ meɪd ðiːz 'hoʊl'seɪl 'pɜːtɪʃɪsɪz.  
 hɪ 'eɪdɪəntli wəz ʌn'sɜːtn 'mæðəɪ tə set mɪ daʊn æz  
 sʌm 'saɪən'tɪfɪk se'lebrɪtɪ ɔː ə 'mæd'mæn. aɪ θɪŋk hɪ  
 30 ɪn'klaɪnd tə ðə 'lætəɪ bɪ'liːf. aɪ sə'pɔɪz aɪ wəz mæd.

'evri greit 'dʒinʒəs iz mæd ə'pən ðə 'sʌbdʒekt in  
 mɪʃ hi iz 'greɪtɪst. ði 'ʌnsək'sesfəl 'mæd'mæn iz  
 dɪs'greɪst ænd kəʊld ə 'lunətɪk.

mæd ɔɪ nat, ai set maɪ'self tə wɜ:k wɪð ə zi:l mɪʃ  
 35 fju 'saɪən'tɪfɪk 'stjuðənts hæv 'evəri 'i:kwəld. ai hæd  
 'evrɪθɪŋ tə læm 'relatɪv tə ðə 'delɪkɪt 'stɑ:di ə'pən  
 mɪʃ ai hæd ɪm'bɑ:ɪkt, — ə 'stɑ:di ɪn'vəlviŋ ðə moɪst  
 'ænəst 'peɪʃəns, ðə moɪst 'rɪdʒɪd ənə'litɪk 'pəʊəɪz, ðə  
 'stædiəst hænd, ðə moɪst 'ʌn'taɪniŋ ai, ðə moɪst ri-  
 40 'faɪnd ænd 'sʌb'taɪl mænɪpju'leɪʃən.

fɔɪ ə lɔŋ taɪm hæf maɪ əpə'reɪtəs lei ɪn'æktɪvli ən  
 ðə ʃelvz əv maɪ 'læbərə'tɔ:ri, mɪʃ wəz naʊ moɪst  
 'æmplɪ 'fəɪnɪʃt wɪð 'evri 'pəʊsɪbl kən'traɪvəns fɔr fə-  
 'sɪli'te:tiŋ maɪ ɪn'vestri'geɪʃənz. ðə fækt wəz ðæt ai  
 45 dɪd nat no: haʊ tə ju:z sʌm əv maɪ 'saɪən'tɪfɪk 'ɪm-  
 pləmənts, — 'nevəri 'hæviŋ bi:n tɔ:t 'maɪkrə'skəpɪks,  
 — ænd ðo:z hʌz ju:z ai 'ʌndə'stʊd 'θiə'retɪkəli wɜ:  
 əv 'lɪtl ə'veɪl, ən'tɪl baɪ 'præktɪs ai kʊd ə'teɪn ðə  
 'nesə'səri 'delɪkəsi əv 'hændliŋ. stɪl, sʌʃ wəz ðə  
 50 'fju:ri əv maɪ æm'bɪʃən, sʌʃ ði 'ʌn'taɪniŋ pə:si'vɪrəns  
 əv maɪ ɪks'perɪmənts, ðæt, 'dɪfɪkəlt əv 'kredit æz ɪt  
 me: bi:, ɪn ðə kɔ:s əv wʌn 'jɪə ai bɪ'keɪm 'θiə'retɪkəli  
 ænd 'præktɪkəli ən ə'kʌmplɪʃt maɪ'kraskəpɪst.

'dʒʊrni ðɪs 'pɪrɪəd əv maɪ 'leɪbəɪz, ɪn mɪʃ ai səb-  
 55 'mɪtɪd 'spesɪmənz əv 'evri 'sʌbstəns ðæt keɪm 'ʌndə  
 maɪ 'ʌbsəɪ'veɪʃən tə ði 'æksən əv maɪ 'lenzɪz, ai bɪ-  
 'keɪm ə dɪs'kʌvərəɪ, — ɪn ə smɔ:l weɪ, ɪt iz truɪ, fɔɪ  
 ai wəz 'veri ʃʌŋ, bʊt stɪl ə dɪs'kʌvərəɪ. ɪt wəz ai hu  
 dɪs'trəɪd 'erənbə:gz 'θiəri ðæt ðə 'vɒlvəks gləʊbə:tɔr  
 60 wəz ən 'æniməl, ænd prʊɪvd ðæt hɪz "'mɔɪnædz"  
 wɪð 'stʌməks nd aɪz wɜ: 'mɪlɪ 'feɪzəz əv ðə fɔɪ'meɪ-  
 ʃən əv ə 'vedʒətəbl sɛl, ænd wɜ:, mæn ðe: rɪɪʃt ðeɪ  
 mə'tju: stɛɪt, ɪn'keɪpəbl əv ði ækt əv 'kʌndʒu'geɪʃən,

- 65 ɔɪ 'ɛnɪ truː 'dʒenə're-tɪv ækt, wɪð'aʊt mɪtʃ noː 'ɔɪ-  
 gənɪzm 'raɪzɪŋ tu 'ɛnɪ steɪdʒ əv laɪf 'haɪəɪ ðən 'vɛdʒə-  
 təbl kæn bɪ sɛd tə bɪ kəm'plɪt. ɪt wəz aɪ hu rɪ'zʌlvd  
 ðə 'sɪŋɡjʊləɪ 'prɒbləm əv rɒ'teɪʃən ɪn ðə sɛlz ænd  
 heɪrɪz əv plænts 'ɪntu 'sɪlɪ'əri ə'trækʃən, ɪn spɑɪt əv ðɪ  
 ə'seɪʃənz əv 'mɪstəri 'wenəm ænd 'lɒðəɪz, ðæt maɪ  
 70 ɛksplə'neɪʃən wəz ðə rɪ'zʌlt əv ən 'ɒptɪkl rɪ'lʊɪzən.

### The Longing of a Man of Science

My first step of course was to find suitable apart-  
 ments. These I obtained, after a couple of days'  
 search, in Fourth Avenue; a very pretty second-floor  
 unfurnished, containing sitting-room, bed-room, and  
 a smaller apartment which I intended to fit up as a  
 laboratory. I furnished my lodgings simply, but  
 rather elegantly, and then devoted all my energies  
 to the adornment of the temple of my worship. I  
 visited Pike, the celebrated optician, and passed in  
 review his splendid collection of microscopes, —  
 Field's Compound, Hingham's, Spencer's, Nachet's  
 Binocular (that founded on the principles of the  
 stereoscope), and at length fixed upon that form  
 known as Spencer's Trunnion Microscope, as com-  
 bining the greatest number of improvements with an  
 almost perfect freedom from tremor. Along with  
 this I purchased every possible accessory, — draw-  
 tubes, micrometers, a *camera-lucida*, lever-stage,  
 achromatic condensers, white cloud illuminators,  
 prisms, parabolic condensers, polarizing apparatus,  
 forceps, aquatic boxes, fishing-tubes, with a host of  
 other articles, all of which would have been useful in  
 the hands of an experienced microscopist, but, as I



afterwards discovered, were not of the slightest present value to me. It takes years of practice to know how to use a complicated microscope. The optician looked suspiciously at me as I made these whole-sale purchases. He evidently was uncertain whether to set me down as some scientific celebrity or a madman. I think he inclined to the latter belief. I suppose I was mad. Every great genius is mad upon the subject in which he is greatest. The unsuccessful madman is disgraced and called a lunatic.

Mad or not, I set myself to work with a zeal which few scientific students have ever equaled. I had everything to learn relative to the delicate study upon which I had embarked, — a study involving the most earnest patience, the most rigid analytic powers, the steadiest hand, the most untiring eye, the most refined and subtle manipulation.

For a long time half my apparatus lay inactively on the shelves of my laboratory, which was now most amply furnished with every possible contrivance for facilitating my investigations. The fact was that I did not know how to use some of my scientific implements, — never having been taught microscopies, — and those whose use I understood theoretically were of little avail, until by practice I could attain the necessary delicacy of handling. Still, such was the fury of my ambition, such the untiring perseverance of my experiments, that, difficult of credit as it may be, in the course of one year I became theoretically and practically an accomplished microscopist.

During this period of my labors, in which I submitted specimens of every substance that came under my observation to the action of my lenses, I became

a discoverer, — in a small way, it is true, for I was very young, but still a discoverer. It was I who destroyed Ehrenberg's theory that the *Volvox globator* was an animal, and proved that his "monads" with stomachs and eyes were merely phases of the formation of a vegetable cell, and were, when they reached their mature state, incapable of the act of conjugation, or any true generative act, without which no organism rising to any stage of life higher than vegetable can be said to be complete. It was I who resolved the singular problem of rotation in the cells and hairs of plants into ciliary attraction, in spite of the assertions of Mr. Wenham and others, that my explanation was the result of an optical illusion.

## REMARKS

These paragraphs are from *The Diamond Lens* by Fitz-James O'Brien. The transcription represents the author's conception of a standard reading pronunciation, more formal than a colloquial but less formal than an oratorical style.

l. 1. ['sjutəbl]. But ['sutəbl] is also possible.

l. 5. [ɪn'tendrd]. The final syllable, in this and similar words, is quite as likely to be [-əd] as [-ɪd].

l. 9. [pæst]. Or [pa:st]. The pronunciation [pa:st] is likely to be noticeable. Neither [pa:st] nor [pa:st] are natural to the author, whose native speech was formed in Southern Ohio.

l. 13. [lɛŋkθ]. Or [lɛŋθ].

l. 16. ['trɛməɪ]. Rarely ['tri:məɪ].

l. 18. ['ækro'mætɪk]. For emphasis on the etymological elements of the word, one might say ['eɪkro'mætɪk].

l. 20. [æpə'rætəs]. Or [æpə're:təs], scarcely [æpə'rætəs], though this pronunciation is common popularly and is sometimes heard among physicists and other scientists.

l. 21. [æ'kwætɪk]. Or [æ'kwətɪk].

l. 26. [əp'tɪʃən]. Of course [əp'tɪʃən] is also possible, but in this

and other words where a choice between the two is open, the form with [ɑ] is much the more general, and represents the author's habit.

1. 28. ['ɛvɪdəntli]. Or ['ɛvɪ'dɛntli].

1. 30. [wəz]. An emphatic form of unemphatic [wəz].

1. 31. ['sʌbdʒekt]. Or ['sʌbdʒɪkt].

1. 32. [ðɪ]. Before a vowel, [ðə] before consonants.

['ʌnsək'sɛsfəl]. Or ['ʌnsək'sɛsfəl].

1. 34. [əɪ]. In rapid reading more likely to be [əɪ] than [əɪ]. So also [ænd] may frequently be merely [nd].

1. 36. ['dɛlɪkɪt]. The pronunciation ['dɛləkət] seems scarcely permissible.

1. 37. [ɪm'bɑ:ɪkt]. Or [ɛm'bɑ:ɪkt].

1. 39. ['ʌn'taɪnɪŋ]. Or [ən'taɪnɪŋ].

1. 41. [hæf]. Or [hɑ:f].

1. 52. [bɪ'ke:m]. The vowel is distinctly long here before a slight pause.

1. 54. ['dʒʊrɪŋ]. In British English a glide vowel before [r] is prominent, giving ['dʒʊərɪŋ], ['pɪərɪəd], 1. 61 ['mɪərɪ], etc., but in American speech this glide vowel is very slight when heard and usually is not heard at all.

1. 62. [wəɪ]. Stressed here, but usually unstressed.

1. 66. [bɪ], [bi]. The second **be** is more emphatic, hence the vowel is higher and tenser. The second syllable of **complete** is still more emphatic.

### III

#### ðə 'hæmɪt

wan naɪt, ə 'bjutɪfəl 'kliə 'frɛstɪ naɪt, hi keɪm bæʔk  
tu hɪz sɛl, 'æftə ə ʃɔ:t rɛst. ðə stɑ:ɪz wəɪ 'wʌndəɪfəl.  
'hevn sɪmɪd ə 'θɑ:zənd taɪmz 'laɪdʒəɪ əz wɛl əz 'braɪ-  
təɪ ðən əɪθ, nd tə lʊk wɪð ə 'θɑ:zənd aɪz ɪn'stɛd əv  
5 wʌn.

"ou, 'wʌndəɪfəl," hi kraɪd, "ðæt ðeɪ ʃʊd bi mɛn hu  
du: kraɪmz baɪ naɪt; ænd 'ʌðəɪz skɛɪs lɛs mæd, hu  
lɪv fɔ: ðɪs 'lɪtl wɔ:ld, nd nʌt fɔ: ðæt greɪt n 'glɔ:ɪrɪəs  
wʌn, mɪtʃ 'naɪtlɪ, tu ɔɪl aɪz nʌt 'blaɪndɪd baɪ 'kʌstəm,

10 ri' viulz its 'glo:ɪŋ 'glo:ɪz. θæŋk gad aɪ æm ə 'hæ-  
mit."

ænd in ðis mu:ɪd hi keɪm tʊ hɪz sel dɔ:ɪ.

hi pɔ:ɪzd æt ɪt; ɪt wəz klo:ɪzd.

"maɪ, mɪ'θɔ:ɪt aɪ left ɪt 'o:ɪn," sɛd hi. "ðə wind.  
15 ðəɪ ɪz nat ə brɛθ əv wind. mæt mi:nz ðis?"

hi stʊd wɪð ɪz hænd ə'pɔ:n ðə 'rægɪd dɔ:ɪ. hi lʊkt  
θru wʌn əv ðə greɪt tʃɪŋks, fɔ: ɪt wəz mætʃ 'sməɪləɪ in  
'pleɪsɪz ðæn ðɪ 'æpəʊtʃəɪ ɪt prɪ'tendɪd tə klo:ɪz, ænd  
sɔ: hɪz 'lɪtl əɪl wɪk 'bæɪnɪŋ dʒʌst mɛɪɪ hi hæd left ɪt.

20 "hʌv ɪz ɪt wɪð mi," hi saɪd, "mɛn aɪ stʌ:t n 'trembl  
æt 'nʌθɪŋ? 'ɪ:ðəɪ aɪ dɪd ʃʌt ɪt, əɪ ðə fɪnd hæθ ʃʌt ɪt  
'æftəɪ mi tə dɪs'tɔ:ɪb maɪ 'hæpɪ sʊl. 'retro sə'θaɪnəs!"

ænd hi 'entəɪd hɪz keɪv 'ræpɪdlɪ, nd bɪ'gæn wɪð  
'sammæt 'næɪvəs ɛksprɪ'dɪʃən tə laɪt wʌn əv hɪz 'laɪdʒ-  
25 ɪst 'teɪpəɪz. maɪl hi wəz 'laɪtɪŋ ɪt, ðəɪ wəz ə soft saɪ  
ɪn ðə keɪv.

hi 'stʌ:tɪd nd drɔpt ðə 'kændl dʒʌst əz ɪt wəz 'laɪ-  
tɪŋ, ænd ɪt went aʊt.

hi stʊpt fɔ: ɪt 'hærɪədlɪ nd 'laɪtɪd ɪt, 'lɪsnɪŋ ɪn-  
30 'tɛntlɪ. mɛn ɪt wəz 'laɪtɪd hi 'ʃeɪdɪd ɪt wɪð ɪz hænd  
frəm bɪ'haɪnd, ænd θru: ðə feɪnt laɪt əɪl raʊnd ðə sel.

ɪn ðə 'faɪðɪst 'kɔ:nəɪ ðɪ 'aʊtləɪn əv ðə wɔ:l sɪmɪd  
'brɔɪkn.

hi tʊk ə step təɪɪdz ðə pleɪs wɪð ɪz haʊt 'bɪɪtɪŋ.

35 ðə 'kændl æt ðə seɪm taɪm 'gɛtɪŋ 'braɪtəɪ, hi sɔ: ɪt  
wəz ðə 'fɪgʃʊɪ əv ə 'wʊmən.

ə'nʌðəɪ step wɪð ɪz nɪ:z 'nʌkɪŋ tə'gɛðəɪ.

ɪt wəz 'maɪgrɪt brænt.

### The Hermit

One night, a beautiful clear frosty night, he came  
back to his cell, after a short rest. The stars were

wonderful. Heaven seemed a thousand times larger as well as brighter than earth, and to look with a thousand eyes instead of one.

"Oh, wonderful," he cried, "that there should be men who do crimes by night; and others scarce less mad, who live for this little world, and not for that great and glorious one, which nightly, to all eyes not blinded by custom, reveals its glowing glories. Thank God I am a hermit."

And in this mood he came to his cell door.

He paused at it; it was closed.

"Why, methought I left it open," said he. "The wind. There is not a breath of wind. What means this?"

He stood with his hand upon the rugged door. He looked through one of the great chinks, for it was much smaller in places than the aperture it pretended to close, and saw his little oil wick burning just where he had left it.

"How is it with me," he sighed, "when I start and tremble at nothing? Either I did shut it, or the fiend hath shut it after me to disturb my happy soul. Retro Sathanas!"

And he entered his cave rapidly, and began with somewhat nervous expedition to light one of his largest tapers. While he was lighting it, there was a soft sigh in the cave.

He started and dropped the candle just as it was lighting, and it went out.

He stooped for it hurriedly and lighted it, listening intently. When it was lighted he shaded it with his hand from behind, and threw the faint light all round the cell.



In the farthest corner the outline of the wall seemed broken.

He took a step towards the place with his heart beating.

The candle at the same time getting brighter, he saw it was the figure of a woman.

Another step with his knees knocking together.

IT WAS MARGARET BRANDT.

#### REMARKS

From Cap. XCV of Charles Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth*.

1. 1. [wan naɪt]. Two distinct [n] consonants are not pronounced here, see above, § 83.

1. 10. [aɪ æm]. Less formally, [aɪm].

1. 17. [θru]. The word is very slightly stressed, hence the vowel is short.

[greɪt]. As an intensive, *great* is not usually a very emphatic word. Here it is lightly stressed and the vowel is perhaps only half-long.

1. 18. ['pleɪsɪz]. Or ['pleɪsəz]?

1. 38. ['mɑ:grɪt]. This word would be trisyllabic only in a formal spelling-pronunciation.

#### IV

##### ðə 'lʊk-'aʊt

"ðeɪ ʃi bləʊz," wəz sɑŋ aʊt frəm ðə 'mæst-'hed.

"mæɪ ə'weɪ?" dɪ'mændɪd ðə 'kæptn.

"θriː pɔɪnts ʌf ðə liː bəʊ, səɪ."

"reɪz ʌp jə mɪl. 'steɪ'dɪ!"

5 "stædɪ, səɪ."

"mæst-'hed ə'həɪ! dʒə siː ðæt meɪl nəʊ?"

"aɪ, aɪ, səɪ! ə ʃəʊl ə spæɪm meɪlz! ðeɪ ʃi bləʊz!  
ðeɪ ʃi 'brɪtʃəz!"

"sɪŋ aʊt! sɪŋ aʊt evrɪ taɪm!"

- 10 "aɪ, aɪ, səɪ! ʔeɪɪ ʃi blouʔ! ʔeɪɪ — ʔeɪɪ — ʔaɪɪ ʃi  
 blouʔ — bouʔ — boɪʔ!"  
 "haʊ faɪɪ ɔɪf?"  
 "tu maɪɪz nd ə hæf."  
 "'θʌndr n 'laɪtnɪŋ! so 'nɪə! kəɪɪ ɔɪɪ hændz!"

### The Look-out

- "There she blows," was sung out from the mast-head.  
 "Where away?" demanded the captain.  
 "Three points off the lee bow, sir."  
 "Raise up your wheel. Steady!"  
 "Steady, sir."  
 "Mast-head ahoy! Do you see that whale now?"  
 "Ay, ay, sir! A shoal of Sperm Whales! There she  
 blows! There she breaches!"  
 "Sing out! sing out every time!"  
 "Ay, ay, sir! There she blows! there — there —  
*thar* she blows — bowes — bo—o—o—s!"  
 "How far off?"  
 "Two miles and a half."  
 "Thunder and lightning! So near! Call all hands!"

### REMARKS

From *Extracts* at the end of Melville's *Moby Dick*. Note the prolonged quality of some of the vowels, resulting of course from the manner of speech exemplified by the passage. In line 6, [djə] might be transcribed [dʒə].

### V

#### ʔə fɪst

ænd stɪl ʃi slept ɪn 'æʒəɪ-'lɪdɪd sliɪp,  
 ɪn 'blæntʃɪd 'lɪnɪn, smuɪʔ, ænd 'lævən'dæɪd,

- 5    *ma:l hi: fram fœ:θ ðə 'klɔ:ɪt brɔ:ɪt ə hi:p*  
*ʌv 'kæn'dɪd 'æpəl, kwɪns, ænd plʌm, ænd 'gʊəd;*  
*wɪθ 'dʒelɪz 'su:ðər ðæn ðə 'kri:mɪ kæɪd,*  
*ænd 'ljusent 'sɪrəps, tɪŋkt wɪθ 'sɪnə'mən;*  
*'mænə ænd deɪts, ɪn 'ɑ:ɡo'si træns'fɔ:d*  
*fram fɛz; ænd 'spæɪsɪd 'deɪntɪz, 'evrɪ wʌn,*  
*fram 'sɪlkən 'sæməɪ'kænd tu 'sɪdɔ:d 'leɪbə'nən.*
- 10    *ði:z 'delɪ'keɪts hi hi:pt wɪθ 'ɡlo:ɪŋ hænd*  
*ʌn 'ɡo:ldɪn 'dɪʃɪz ænd ɪn 'bʌskɪts braɪt*  
*ʌv 'wɪ:ðɪd 'sɪlvər: 'sʌmptʃu'ʌs ðeː stænd*  
*ɪn ðə rɪ'taɪəd 'kwɑɪt ʌv ðə naɪt,*  
*'fɪlɪŋ ðə 'tʃɪlɪ ru:m wɪθ 'pɛəfjʊm laɪt. —*
- 15    *“ænd nəʊ, maɪ lʌv, maɪ 'serəf 'feɪər, ə'weɪk!*  
*ðəʊ ʌt maɪ 'hevn, ænd aɪ ðaɪn 'erɪ'maɪt:*  
*'oɪpən ðaɪn aɪz, fər mi:k seːnt 'æɡnɪs seɪk,*  
*ər aɪ ʃæl drəʊz br'saɪd ði:, sʊv maɪ sʊl dʌθ eɪk.”*

### The Feast

And still she slept in azure-lidded sleep,  
 In blanched linen, smooth, and lavender'd,  
 While he from forth the closet brought a heap  
 Of candied apple, quince, and plum, and gourd;  
 With jellies soother than the creamy curd,  
 And lucent syrups, tinct with cinnamon;  
 Manna and dates, in argosy transferr'd  
 From Fez; and spiced dainties, every one,  
 From silken Samarcand to cedar'd Lebanon.

These delicacies he heap'd with glowing hand  
 On golden dishes and in baskets bright  
 Of wreathed silver: sumptuous they stand

In the retired quiet of the night,  
 Filling the chilly room with perfume light. —  
 “And now, my love, my seraph fair, awake!  
 Thou art my heaven, and I thine eremite:  
 Open thine eyes, for meek St. Agnes’ sake,  
 Or I shall drowse beside thee, so my soul doth ache.”

## REMARKS

These two stanzas from *The Eve of St. Agnes*, by Keats, are transcribed into a text for very formal and somewhat artificial pronunciation, such as one would employ in a slow recitation of the lines.

l. 1. [ˈæʒəɪ-]. Or [ˈeɪʒəɪ-].

l. 4. [ˈɡʊəd]. The word is a poor rime to *lavender’d*, *curd*, *transferr’d*, unless one adopts an artificial pronunciation, [ɡærd], for the sake of the rime. Normally the word is pronounced [ˈɡʊəd] or [ɡərd].

l. 6. [ˈljʊ:sənt ˈsɪrəps]. In colloquial style, [ˈlu:sənt ˈsɪrəps].

l. 8. [wən]. Should one pronounce [wɒn] for the rime, or [ˈsɪnə-ˈmən], [ˈlɛbəˈnæn], or be satisfied merely with the approximate eye-rime in the spellings *cinnamon*, *one*, *Lebanon*?

l. 11. [ˈba:skɪts]. Or [ˈba:skɪts], [ˈbæskɪts], though one would not likely hear [ˈbæskɪts] from a professional elocutionist.

l. 12. [ˈsæmptʃuˈʌs]. In colloquial style, [ˈsæmptʃuəs].

## VI

## mɔɪˈtælitɪ

sou wi dʒadʒ əv ðə ho:p əv mɔɪˈtælitɪ. it biˈlɒŋz  
 wið ənd fɪts ˈɪntu ə ˈstraktʃəɪ; it iz ðæt wiðˈaʊt mɪʃ  
 ju kən ˈnevəɪ meɪk ðə ˈbjutɪ əɪ ˈjunitɪ laɪst, wiðaʊt  
 mɪʃ ˈəlsə ðə ˈstraktʃəɪ tendz tə fəɪl əˈpaɪt. ðɪ aɪʃ iz  
 s nat jət tru: tɪl ˈevrɪ stəɪn fɪts ˈɪntu pleɪs. pʊt ðə ho:p  
 əv mɔɪˈtælitɪ ˈɪntu ðə kraʊn əv ðə ˈvælju:z əv laɪf, ənd  
 ðeː koˈhɪəɪ, ənd əɪl əv ðəm teɪk ən nju: sigˈnɪfɪkəns.

iitʃ stoin bilt 'intə ðə 'straktʃəɪ ɪz waɪð 'mæɪ ðən ɪt  
 ɪz waɪð baɪ ɪt'self ɪn ðə fiɪld. iitʃ stoin ɪz waɪð stɪl  
 10 'mæɪ mæn ðə 'straktʃəɪ ɪz 'fɪnɪʃt. rɪ'fjuːz 'juːə 'ki-  
 'stoin ðə pleɪs fəɪ mɪtʃ ɪt sɪmz tə bi 'fɪtɪd eg'zæktli,  
 ænd ju hæv put 'evrɪ 'preʃəs 'vælju æt rɪsk. ju əɪ nat  
 so 'ʃuːə əv ə gud gad 'enɪ 'lɒŋgəɪ. 'hjumən laɪf ɪz no  
 'lɒŋgəɪ so sɪg'nɪfɪkənt əz ɪt wəz bɪ'fəʊəɪ. ju hæv lɒst  
 15 waɪð aʊt əv lʌv ənd 'frɛndʃɪp, ənd 'leveld ðəm təɪd  
 ðə dast. ju hæv rɪ'dʌst 'pe-triətɪzəm ənd fɪl'ænθrəpɪ tu  
 'faɪnəɪt 'væljuːz, iitʃ wɪð ɪts praɪs. ju hæv te-kn  
 'bʊɪjənt dʒəɪ ənd en'θʊzɪæzm aʊt əv əɪl mə'tʊɪ mɛnz  
 laɪf, ənd 'θreɪnd ðəm wɪð ən 'əɪliə oɪld eɪdʒ. ju hæv  
 20 'ʃeɪkn ðə 'beɪsəz əv mo'rælɪtɪ ənd put 'raɪtʃəsnəs 'ɪntu  
 təɪmz əv 'kʌmfət ənd 'pʌlɪsɪ. ju hæv 'bɪdn ðɪ 'aɪtɪst,  
 ðə 'poet, ənd ðə 'prafet laɪf ət ðeɪ 'vɪzənz ənd daʊt  
 ðeɪ və'ɪdɪtɪ. ju hæv dɪs'tɪŋktli 'ʃeɪkn mænʒ feɪθ ɪn  
 'lʌdʒɪk ənd 'rɪzən, ənd brəɪt əɪl ɪntə'lektʃʊəl 'prəsəsəz  
 25 'ɪntu dɪs'kredit. fəɪ əɪl ðət 'lʌdʒɪk ɪz 'fəʊə ɪz tə baɪnd  
 θɪŋz 'ɪntu ko'hɪrəns ənd 'junɪtɪ. əɪl 'væljuːz, ɪn fækt,  
 bɪ'lɒŋ ɪn ðɪ aɪ'dɪəl 'reɪlm; ðe goː tə'geðəɪ ənd meɪk ə  
 'junɪtɪ, əɪ els ðe fəɪl tə'geðəɪ.

fəɪl tə'geðəɪ? nou! no mæn kæn meɪk ðə greɪt  
 30 'væljuːz fəɪl, ə teɪk ðəm ə'paɪt, ə hæɪt wʌn əv ðəm. ə  
 mæn kæn hæɪt ənd mɑː hɪz oʊn laɪf baɪ hɪz dɪs'trʌst,  
 bət hɪ kæn mɑː nou rɪ'ælɪtɪ. no mænʒ daʊt kæn meɪk  
 'dʒʌstɪs, 'bjuːtɪ, truːθ, lʌv, les ðən 'rɪəl. ðiːz θɪŋz ə  
 ɪn'greɪnd ɪn ə 'neɪtʃə. wɪ nɪd 'oʊnli tə trʌst ðəm.  
 35 ðe 'kʌnstɪ'tʊt ən 'ɪnfɪnɪt 'aɪdəɪ. ðe 'væɪl'deɪt ðəm-  
 'selvz ðə 'mæɪ wɪ θrou əvə weɪt ə'pən ðəm. ðə hoɪp  
 əv ɪmə'tælɪtɪ ɪz 'sɪmplɪ ðə 'kɪr'stoɪn, mɪtʃ 'ɔɪwez  
 stændz fʌst, bɪ'jɒnd 'enɪ mænʒ daʊt, æt ðə kraʊn əv  
 ðə 'straktʃəɪ. ɪt fɪts ɪts kəm'pænʒən 'væljuːz, ənd ðe  
 40 kləɪsp ɪt wɪð ðeɪ aɪmz 'ɪntu ə sɪ'rɪm ɪn'tegɪtɪ. ðe

bid ʌs trʌst əvə laɪvz ə'pɒn ðɪ 'aɪtʃ'weɪ, ʌɪtʃ 'evrɪ  
 'vælju ɪn ðə 'juːnɪ'taɪs hæz dʒəʊnd tə kən'strakt. wɪ  
 dɪd nʌt bɪld ðə 'bjʊtɪfəl 'straktʃəː wɪ 'oʊnli faʊnd ɪt.

45

ʌt ɪz 'eksələnt,  
 æz gʌd lɪvz, ɪz 'pɑːmənənt.

### Immortality

So we judge of the hope of immortality. It belongs with and fits into a structure; it is that without which you can never make the beauty or unity last, without which also the structure tends to fall apart. The arch is not yet *true* till every stone fits into place. Put the hope of immortality into the crown of the values of life, and they cohere, and all of them take on new significance. Each stone built into the structure is worth more than it is worth by itself in the field. Each stone is worth still more when the structure is finished. Refuse your keystone the place for which it seems to be fitted exactly, and you have put every precious value at risk. You are not so sure of a good God any longer. Human life is no longer so significant as it was before. You have lost worth out of love and friendship, and leveled them toward the dust. You have reduced patriotism and philanthropy to finite values, each with its price. You have taken buoyant joy and enthusiasm out of all mature men's life, and threatened them with an earlier old age. You have shaken the bases of morality and put righteousness into terms of comfort and policy. You have bidden the artist, the poet, and the prophet laugh at their visions and doubt their validity. You have distinctly shaken man's faith in logic and reason, and brought all intellectual



processes into discredit. For all that logic is for is to bind things into coherence and unity. All values, in fact, belong in the ideal realm; they go together and make a unity, or else they fall together.

Fall together? No! No man can make the great values fall, or take them apart, or hurt one of them. A man can hurt and mar his own life by his distrust, but he can mar no reality. No man's doubt can make justice, beauty, truth, love, less than real. These things are ingrained in our nature. We need only to trust them. They constitute an infinite order. They validate themselves the more we throw our weight upon them. The hope of immortality is simply the keystone, which always stands fast, beyond any man's doubt, at the crown of the structure. It fits its companion values, and they clasp it with their arms into a serene integrity. They bid us trust our lives upon the archway, which every value in the universe has joined to construct. We did not build the beautiful structure: we only found it.

What is excellent,  
As God lives, is permanent.

#### REMARKS

This passage, from *Truth and Immortality*, an essay by Charles Fletcher Dole, represents the pronunciation of Mr. W. W. Lawrence who was born in Portland, Maine, and spent his early life there. After the usual college training at Bowdoin, and graduate discipline, especially in English and German at Harvard, he spent several years in Kansas, but for the past dozen or fifteen years he has lived in New York, regularly returning, however, for three or four months of each year to his native New England. His pronunciation represents not an extreme local New England speech, but what may be taken as a fair example of cultivated standard New England

speech. Perhaps its most interesting feature is its mixed character. This is evident, for example, in the treatment of [ɹ]. Final unstressed or lightly stressed [ɹ] is regularly present, but disappears in a heavily stressed syllable like [fɔ:ə], l. 25, or [ma:ɪ], l. 31. Before consonants no [ɹ] is present in [ə'pa:t], l. 30, [a:mz], l. 40, [a:tʃ-], l. 41, but is present in [hært], l. 30, the acoustic test being positively confirmed by the organic analysis. Yet no [ɹ] is present in [wɑ:θ], l. 15, or in ['jʌnɪ'vɛ:lz], l. 42, ['pɹɑ:mənənt], l. 45. In ll. 33, 34, the pronunciation [ɑ] for **are**, **our**, evidently represents an occasional and unsettled, not a fixed and permanent habit, see ll. 36, 41. The loss of [ɹ] in ['kɑmfət], l. 21, is a very wide spread phenomenon, noticeable even in the speech of those who commonly retain [ɹ] before consonants; cf. the pronunciation ['kɑmfətəbl] for **comfortable**.

The pronunciation [lɑ:f], l. 22, [fɑ:st], l. 38, [klɑ:sp], l. 40, is consistent for this passage, but Mr. Lawrence declares that in an informal pronunciation, say if he went into a stationery store and asked for paper-clasps, he would say [klæspz]. Further examination showed that in words of this type he sometimes pronounced [ɑ:], sometimes [æ].

The pronunciations ['kɑnstɪ'tʊt], l. 35, [mɑ'tʊɪ], l. 18, [ɛn'θu-zɪæzm], l. 18, cannot be taken as indicating a constant preference of [ʊ], [u] for [ju] after [t], [d], etc., for sometimes, especially under full stress, the pronunciation is [ju], as in [nju:], l. 7.

The diphthongal vowel in [sou], l. 1, is due to an exceptionally strong stress in this word, and so also in other cases of [oʊ].

For the vowel of **not**, **God**, **what**, etc., the pronunciation [ɑ] is constant. Observe that for the accented vowel in **make**, **take**, **patriotism**, **they**, etc., a diphthong was not present, even under strong stress. As to final unstressed syllables, note ['be:səz], l. 20, ['raɪtʃəsənəz], l. 20, etc., beside ['fɪtɪd], l. 11, ['leveld], l. 15. The mixed character of this pronunciation is not an individual peculiarity but is quite generally characteristic of cultivated American speech.

## VII

### 'wɔ:ɪkɪŋ

ðə 'plɛʒəɪ əv 'ɛksəsəɪz ɪz du: flɑ:st tʊ ə 'pjʊəli 'fɪzɪkl  
ɪm'preʃən, ænd 'sekəndli tʊ ə sens əv 'pauəɪ ɪn 'ækʃən.

- ðə flɪst sɔɪs əv 'pleʒə, 'veɪrɪz əv kɔɪs wɪð aʊə kən'dɪ-  
 ʃən ænd ðə steɪt əv ðə sə'raʊndɪŋ 'saɪkəm'stænsəz; ðə  
 5 'sekənd wɪ ðɪ ə'maʊnt ænd kaɪnd əv 'paʊə, ænd ðɪ  
 ek'stənt ænd kaɪnd əv 'ækʃən. ɪn ɔɪl fəɪmz əv 'æktɪv  
 'eksəsaɪz, ðəɪ a θri: 'paʊəz 'saɪməl'te-nɪəsli ɪn 'ækʃən,  
 — ðə wɪl, ðə 'maslɪz nd ðɪ 'ɪntelekt. ɪtʃ əv ði:z prɪ-  
 'dʌmɪ'ne-ts ɪn 'dɪfrənt kaɪndz əv 'eksəsaɪz. ɪn 'wɔɪ-  
 10 kɪŋ, ðə wɪl n 'maslɪz ə so ə'kʌstəmd tə wɔɪk tə'geðə, n  
 pə'fɔɪm ðeə tæsk wɪð so 'lɪtl ek'spendɪtʃʊə əv fɔɪs ðæt  
 ðɪ 'ɪntelekt ɪz lef t kəm'pærɪtɪvli frɪi. ðə 'mentl 'pleʒə  
 ɪn 'wɔɪkɪŋ, əz sʌtʃ, ɪz ɪn ðə sens əv 'paʊə 'ovə ɔɪl aʊə  
 'mʊvɪŋ məʃɪnəri . . .
- 15 'hɪə ænd ðæɪ, ðə fɪld w z 'dʌtɪd wɪð smɔɪl 'flaʊəz.  
 ær'evə ju lʊkt, ju sɔɪ ðeə 'gɔɪldn hedz 'nʌdɪŋ ɪn ðə  
 brɪz. ðe fɪld ðɪ æ: wɪð ðeə 'rɪtʃ 'ɔɪdə. ɪt wəz ə  
 'maɪvəl ðæt sʌtʃ 'taɪnɪ 'blasəmz ʃʊd hæv so 'veri 'hevi  
 ə pə'fjʊm. ɪn 'kʌlə ðe 'veɪrɪd frəm rɪtʃ 'aɪrɪndz tə  
 20 'peɪlɪst 'jelo. wʌn wɔɪkt 'weɪr lɪ fə 'fɪə əv 'krʌʃɪŋ  
 ðəm 'ʌndə fʊt.

### Walking

The pleasure of exercise is due first to a purely physical impression, and secondly to a sense of power in action. The first source of pleasure varies of course with our condition and the state of the surrounding circumstances; the second with the amount and kind of power; and the extent and kind of action. In all forms of active exercise there are three powers simultaneously in action, — the will, the muscles and the intellect. Each of these predominates in different kinds of exercise. In walking, the will and muscles are so accustomed to work together, and perform their task with so little expenditure of force, that the intel-

lect is left comparatively free. The mental pleasure in walking, as such, is in the sense of power over all our moving machinery . . .

Here and there, the field was dotted with small flowers. Wherever you looked, you saw their golden heads nodding in the breeze. They filled the air with their rich odor. It was a marvel that such tiny blossoms should have so very heavy a perfume. In color they varied from rich orange to palest yellow. One walked warily for fear of crushing them under foot.

### REMARKS

Down to the break, this passage is from Holmes' *Autocrat*. The concluding sentences were made up for the purpose of transcription. The pronunciation is that of Mr. H. W. Wells, who has always lived in New York City, with occasional short periods of residence in New England. Final [ɹ] appears in Mr. Wells's pronunciation in unstressed syllables before vowels, and usually, though not always, before pauses. In l. 5, the two words **with the** are run together, with only one consonant between them. In l. 10, **are** is made very unemphatic, the sound being recorded as [ə], though it is better described as a weakened form of [ɑ]. Nasalization of vowels is marked in Mr. Wells's pronunciation. In strongly stressed syllables or words like **there**, l. 15, **air**, l. 17, the vowel is [æ:], but not in weak syllables, as in **there**, l. 7, **their**, ll. 16, 17, or in **varies**, l. 3, **varied**, l. 19, **warily**, l. 20. The stress in **perfume**, l. 19, as a noun, is usually on the first syllable.

### VIII

#### daʊt

ʌn'fɔɪtʃənətɹɪ dʒʌst əz aɪ wəz traɪ'ʌmfətɹɪ 'ənsərɪŋ,  
 "sʌɪtnɪ nat," ə'nʌðə 'kwɛstʃən maɪtʃt 'ɪntə maɪ  
 maɪnd, ɪs'kɔɪtəd baɪ ə 'vɛrɪ dɪ'faɪənt "ɔ:t."

"ɔɪt aɪ tə ɡəʊ, mən aɪ hæv sʌtʃ ə dɪ'beɪt ə'bʌʊt ət?"

5    bæt maɪl aɪ wəz pə'plekst, nd 'skɑfɪŋ æt maɪ oun  
      'skruplɪz, ðə 'ferɪ-'bel 'sɑdnli ræŋ, nd 'ænsəd ɔɪl maɪ  
      'kwestʃənz. ɪn'vələn'terɪli aɪ 'hærəd ən bəəd. ðə bɔɪt  
      slɪpt frəm ðə dok. aɪ went ʌp ən dek tu ɪn'dʒɔɪ ðə  
      vjuː əv ðə 'sɪtɪ frəm ðə beɪ, bæt dʒʌst əz aɪ sæt daʊn,  
 10 n mənt tu hev sed, "həʊ 'bjutəfəl," ə faʊnd mə'self  
      'æskɪŋ, "ɔɪt aɪ tu hev kʌm?"

     lɔst ɪn pə'pleksɪŋ dɪ'beɪt, aɪ sɔː 'lɪtl əv ðə 'sɪnəri əv  
      ðə beɪ; bæt ðə rɪ'membrəns əv pruu nd ðə 'dʒentlɪ 'ɪn-  
      fluəns əv ðə 'deɪ 'plændʒd mi 'ɪntə ə muːd əv 'pensɪv  
 15 'revəri aɪtʃ 'nʌθɪŋ 'tendəd tə dɪs'trɔɪ, ən'tɪl wi 'sɑdnli  
      ə'raɪvd æt ðə 'lændɪŋ.

### Doubt

Unfortunately, just as I was triumphantly answering "Certainly not!" another question marched into my mind, escorted by a very defiant *ought*.

"Ought I to go when I have such a debate about it?"

But while I was perplexed, and scoffing at my own scruples, the ferry-bell suddenly rang, and answered all my questions. Involuntarily I hurried on board. The boat slipped from the dock. I went up on deck to enjoy the view of the city from the bay, but just as I sat down, and meant to have said "how beautiful!" I found myself asking:

"Ought I to have come?"

Lost in perplexing debate, I saw little of the scenery of the bay; but the remembrance of Prue and the gentle influence of the day plunged me into a mood of pensive reverie which nothing tended to destroy, until we suddenly arrived at the landing.

## REMARKS

The passage is from George William Curtis, *Prue and I*, and the transcription is the reading pronunciation of Mr. George Summey, Jr., a native of Kentucky, of North Carolina parentage, who has lived in South Carolina, Tennessee, and since the age of twenty-three in North Carolina. His manner of speech would strike any attentive observer as Southern, but not markedly so. His speech is slow, and more attention is given to unstressed syllables than is customary, though the vowels are not necessarily made clearer.

l. 1. [ʌn'fɔ:tʃənətli]. There is no trace of a consonant for *r* before consonants and finally.

l. 4. [ət]. Very lightly stressed.

l. 5. ['skɒfɪŋ]. The more usual pronunciation is ['skɒfɪŋ].

l. 7. ['hærəd]. A more common standard pronunciation would be ['hærɪd], or ['hærɪd], the latter to be preferred.

[bæd]. The vowel is distinctly short.

[bo:t]. No trace of diphthongal quality, but when final, as in [gou], l. 4, the diphthong is present.

l. 10. ['bjutəfəl]. In a word like this, if one had a mark for accent indicating a degree between half-stress and unstressed, one would employ it on the second and third syllables to suggest Mr. Summey's pronunciation. More commonly pronounced ['bjutrɪfəl].

l. 12. ['sɪnəri]. The vowel of the first syllable is not usually lowered.

l. 13. [pru:]. The diphthong very distinct, perhaps because of the slow tempo.

['ɪnfluəns]. More commonly, ['ɪnfluəns].

l. 14. [mu:d]. For common standard [mu:ɪd].

## IX

## 'θænə'təpsəs

tu him hu ɪn ðə lʌv əv 'neɪtʃə hoɪldz  
 kə'mjunjən wɪθ hæ ɪz 'vɪzɪbl fɔ:ɪmz, ʃɪ spɪks  
 ə 'veɪrɪəs 'læŋɡwɪdʒ; fɔ: ɪz 'geɪə 'aʊəɪz  
 ʃɪ hæz ə vɔɪs əv 'glædnəs, nɪ ə smɑɪl



- 5      nd 'eləkwəns əv 'bjutɪ, nd ʃɪ glaidz  
       intu hɪz 'daɪkəɪ 'mjuzɪŋz, wɪθ ə maɪld  
       nd 'hi:lɪŋ 'sɪmpəθɪ ðæt stɪlɪz ə'weɪ  
       ðeɪ 'ʃaɪpnəs, eɪ hi ɪz ə'weɪ.    mən θə:ts  
       əv ðə læst 'bɪtəɪ 'aʊəɪ kɑm laɪk ə blaɪt  
 10     'ovəɪ ðaɪ 'spɪrət, nd sæd 'ɪmɪdʒəz  
       əv ðə stəɪn 'ægənɪ, nd ʃraʊd, nd pəɪl,  
       nd 'breθləs 'daɪknəs, nd ðə 'næro haʊs,  
       meɪk ðɪ tə 'ʃʌdəɪ, nd gro: sɪk æt ha:ɪt; —  
       go: fə:θ 'ʌndəɪ ðɪ 'oɪpn skaɪ, nd lɪst  
 15     tə 'neɪtʃəɪz 'tɪtʃɪŋz, maɪl frəm ɔɪl ə'raʊnd —  
       əɪθ nd həɪ 'wə:təɪz nd ðə dəpθs əv eɪ —  
       kɑmz ə stɪl vɔɪs.

### Thanatopsis

To him who in the love of Nature holds  
 Communion with her visible forms, she speaks  
 A various language; for his gayer hours  
 She has a voice of gladness, and a smile  
 And eloquence of beauty, and she glides  
 Into his darker musings, with a mild  
 And healing sympathy, that steals away  
 Their sharpness, ere he is aware. When thoughts  
 Of the last bitter hour come like a blight  
 Over thy spirit, and sad images  
 Of the stern agony, and shroud, and pall,  
 And breathless darkness, and the narrow house,  
 Make thee to shudder, and grow sick at heart; —  
 Go forth, under the open sky, and list  
 To Nature's teachings, while from all around —  
 Earth and her waters, and the depths of air —  
 Comes a still voice.

## REMARKS

This passage represents the informal reading pronunciation of Mr. F. L. Mott, a native and resident of Iowa. The only pronunciations which call for comment are [θɔ:ts], l. 8, which has been recorded with [ɔ:], but which has a sound between [a:] and [ɔ:]; in l. 16 ['wɒtəɪz] has distinctly [a]; in ll. 2, 6, with has a voiceless final consonant. For r final and before consonants the transcription [ɹ] has been used, though perhaps the sound is nearer [r].

## X

## æ'n 'elə've-təd 'kənver'seɪʃən

ai wəz 'gouɪŋ daʊn taʊn ən ðɪ 'elə've-təd ðɪs 'æftər-  
 'nuɪn nd pæst ðə taɪm baɪ 'lɪsɪŋ tə ðə 'kənver'seɪʃən  
 əv ə 'nʌmbər əv 'sku:l-'gærلز. ðə wər frəm wʌn əv  
 ðə 'sɪtɪ 'haɪ-'sku:lz, n wər drest laɪk ðə 'dɔ:ɪtəɪz əv  
 5 'wel-tə-'duɪ 'peɪrənts. ðə wər ɔɪl 'veri mʌtʃ ɪk'saɪtəd  
 'ovər n ɪgzæmɪ'neɪʃən ɪn 'ɪŋglɪʃ 'lɪtərə'tʃʊr mʌtʃ əd bɪn  
 held ɪn ðə sku:l ðæt 'mɔ:ɪnɪŋ. wʌn əv ðə gærلز sɪmɪd  
 'veri mʌtʃ dɪs'tərbɪd 'ovər ðɪ 'ænsər tə wʌn əv ðə 'kwes-  
 tʃənz. "o gærلز," ʃɪ sɛd, "ai wʌnt ə nou ə'baʊt ðo:ɪz  
 10 ɒʊdɪz. ai noɪ wʌn wəz baɪ kɪrts n wʌn wəz baɪ 'ʃeli, n  
 ai noɪ wʌn wəz ə'baʊt ə 'skaɪ-'laɪrk n wʌn wəz ə'baʊt  
 ə 'naɪtən'geɪl, bət ai dɔɪnt noɪ 'mɛðər ai gət ðəm  
 streɪt." "maɪ," 'ænsəd wʌn əv hər kəm'pænɪənz,  
 "'ʃeli roɪt ðə wʌn ə'baʊt ðə 'naɪtən'geɪl n kɪrts ðə wʌn  
 15 ə'baʊt ðə 'skaɪ-'laɪrk." "ðeɪr naʊ," mɔɪnd ðə gærلز  
 huɪ hæd æskt ðə 'kwɛstʃən, "ɪznt ðæt tuɪ bæd! ai  
 dʒʌst nuɪ aɪd get ðo:ɪz bæɪdɪz mɪkst, n ai dɪd."

## An Elevated Conversation

I was going down town on the Elevated this afternoon and passed the time by listening to the conver-

sation of a number of school-girls. They were from one of the city high-schools, and were dressed like the daughters of well-to-do parents. They were all very much excited over an examination in English literature which had been held in the school that morning. One of the girls seemed very much disturbed over the answer to one of the questions. "O girls," she said, "I want to know about these odes. I know one was by Shelley and one was by Keats, and I know one was about a sky-lark and one was about a nightingale, but I don't know whether I get them straight." "Why," answered one of her companions, "Shelley wrote the one about the nightingale and Keats the one about the sky-lark." "There now," moaned the girl who had asked the question, "isn't that too bad! I just knew I'd get those boids mixed, and I did."

## REMARKS

This represents the conversational pronunciation of Mr. G. W. Mead, practically all of whose life has been passed in the Middle West. There is no [ɹ] in Mr. Mead's pronunciation, except occasionally in unstressed final syllables. In l. 6 ['lɪtərə'tʃʊr] is a somewhat formal pronunciation for informal ['lɪtərətʃəɹ]. For **want**, the transcription is [want], l. 9, and so it would be generally in this pronunciation for words like **watch**, **water**, **swan**, etc. A rather slow tempo accounts for the diphthongs in [nou], l. 9, [oudz], l. 10, both stressed. But [no:], l. 10, is only relatively lightly stressed. For ['nartən'geɪl], l. 12, ['nartn'geɪl] might have been written. In l. 17 [bæɪdz] is New York dialect for **birds**.

## XI

rip væn 'wɪŋkl

æz hɪ wəz ə'bæʊt tə dɪ'send, hɪ haɪd ə vɔɪs frəm ə  
'dɪstəns 'hæluɪŋ, "rip væn 'wɪŋkl! rip væn 'wɪŋkl!"

hi lukt ræund, bæt kud si: 'nlaθiŋ bæt ə krou, 'wiŋiŋ  
 its 'sali'teri flait ə'krəs ðə 'mæuntŋ. hi θə:t iz 'fænsi  
 5 mast əv di'si:vd im, nd taimd ə'gen tu di'send, mæn  
 hi ha:ɪd ðə seim krai riŋ θru: ðə stil 'iivniŋ eiə; "rip  
 væn 'wiŋkl! rip væn 'wiŋkl!" — æt ðə seim taim wulf  
 'brisld ap hiz bæk, nd 'giviŋ ə lou 'græuəl, skalkt tu  
 hiz 'mæstəz said, 'lukiŋ 'fiəli dæun 'intu ðə glen.  
 10 rip næu felt ə veig æpri'hensən 'stiiliŋ 'ovə him; hi  
 lukt 'æŋsəslɪ in ðə seim di'rekʃən, nd pə'si:vd ə  
 streindʒ 'figjə 'slouli 'təiliŋ ap ðə raks, nd 'bendiŋ  
 'lændə ðə weit əv 'samθiŋ hi 'kærid ən hiz bæk. hi wəz  
 sə'praizd tə si: 'eni 'hjumən 'bi:ŋ in ðis 'lounli nd  
 15 an'frikwentid pleis; bæt sə'poiziŋ it tə bi 'sam'wan əv  
 ðə 'neibə'hud in ni:d əv hiz ə'sistəns, hi 'heisnd dæun  
 tə jild it.

ən 'ni:rə ə'proitʃ hi wəz stil mæ: sə'praizd æt ðə  
 siŋgu'leriti əv ðə 'streindʒəz ə'pi:rəns. hi wəz ə ʃə:t  
 20 'skwæ-'bilt old 'felo, wið θik 'buʃi 'he:ə nd ə 'grizld  
 'biəd. hiz dres wəz əv ði æn'tiik datʃ 'fæʃn: ə kləθ  
 'dʒæikn stræpt ræund ðə weist, 'sevrəl 'pe:ə əv 'britʃiz,  
 ðə 'æutə wan əv 'æmpl 'valjəm, 'dekə're:tid wið rouz  
 əv 'batnz dæun ðə saidz, nd 'bantʃəz æt ðə ni:z. hi  
 25 bə:r ən hiz 'ʃouldə ə stæut keg, ðæt si:md fal əv 'likə,  
 nd me:d saɪnz fə rip tə ə'proitʃ nd ə'sist im wiθ ðə  
 loud. ðo 'ræðə ʃai nd dis'trastfəl əv ðis nju ə'kwe:ntns,  
 rip kəm'plaid wið iz 'ju:ʒəl ə'lækriti; nd 'mjutʃuəli  
 ri'liiviŋ wan ə'nadə, ðe 'klæmbəd ap ə 'næro 'gali,  
 30 ə'peirəntli ðə drai bed əv ə 'mæuntŋ 'tərənt.

. . .

jes, ðæt 'eldəli 'le:di iz 'mizəz wai:θ. ʃi livz in  
 'tʃa:lstn. ðə tu ga:ɪz a: hə 'dɔ:itəz, ðə 'misiz wai:θ.  
 'mizəz wai:θ iz ə gre:t 'lavə əv 'mjuzik, nd 'ræili 'evə

'mɪsəz ə 'sɪmfəni 'kən'saɪt. in ðə 'sɑmə ʃi spɛndz ə  
 35 grɛt diɪl əv hə taɪm in ðə 'gɑɪdn, 'wɒtəriŋ nd 'trɪmɪŋ  
 hə plænts. ʃi ɪz pə'tɪkjəli fənd əv pə'tuɪnjɜz.

### Rip Van Winkle

As he was about to descend, he heard a voice from a distance, hallooing, "Rip Van Winkle! Rip Van Winkle!" He looked round, but could see nothing but a crow winging its solitary flight across the mountain. He thought his fancy must have deceived him, and turned again to descend, when he heard the same cry ring through the still evening air; "Rip Van Winkle! Rip Van Winkle!" — at the same time Wolf bristled up his back, and giving a low growl, skulked to his master's side, looking fearfully down into the glen. Rip now felt a vague apprehension stealing over him; he looked anxiously in the same direction, and perceived a strange figure slowly toiling up the rocks, and bending under the weight of something he carried on his back. He was surprised to see any human being in this lonely and unfrequented place; but supposing it to be someone of the neighborhood in need of his assistance, he hastened down to yield it.

On nearer approach he was still more surprised at the singularity of the stranger's appearance. He was a short, square-built old fellow, with thick bushy hair, and a grizzled beard. His dress was of the antique Dutch fashion: a cloth jerkin strapped round the waist, several pair of breeches, the outer one of ample volume, decorated with rows of buttons down the sides, and bunches at the knees. He bore on his shoulder a stout keg, that seemed full of liquor, and

made signs for Rip to approach and assist him with the load. Though rather shy and distrustful of this new acquaintance, Rip complied with his usual alacrity; and mutually relieving one another, they clambered up a narrow gully, apparently the dry bed of a mountain torrent.

Yes, that elderly lady is Mrs. Worth. She lives in Charleston. The two girls are her daughters, the Misses Worth. Mrs. Worth is a great lover of music, and rarely ever misses a symphony concert. In the summer she spends a great deal of time in her garden, watering and trimming her plants. She is particularly fond of petunias.

#### REMARKS

This passage down to the break represents the slightly formal reading pronunciation of a paragraph or two from Irving's *Rip Van Winkle* as read by Miss Susan Lewis, a native and always a resident of Texas. After the break come several made-up sentences of somewhat less formal character. The tempo was rather slow, the diphthongal quality of some sounds being thus more marked than ordinarily. For *jerkin*, l. 22, a somewhat literary and unfamiliar word, we have ['dʒəʊkn], probably as a spelling-pronunciation, since *r* is regularly omitted by Miss Lewis before consonants. In final position, *r* is also silent, even before words beginning with a vowel, except [bɑ:r], l. 25, where the [r] is perhaps due to the [ɑ:], see above, § 305. In the concluding passage, compare the pronunciation of *Mrs.*, *Misses* and *misses*, and for *Mrs.*, see above, § 320. As Miss Lewis pronounces *Mrs.*, the word is almost a monosyllable with a long final consonant. For *rarely*, l. 33, perhaps the transcription should be ['ræ:əlɪ]. The stressing of *concert* ['kən'sɑ:t], l. 34, is noteworthy. In general the vowel [ʌ:] is only slightly tense in Miss Lewis's pronunciation. In l. 26 [wɪθ ðə] is a good example of phonetic differentiation, the voiceless consonant in [wɪθ] being evidently assumed to keep the word separate from [ðə].



## XII

## 'hæmlts spirtʃ

- spirk ðə spirtʃ, ai prei ju, æz ai prə'naunst it tu ju,  
 'trɪpɪŋli ɒn ðə tʌŋ; bət ɪf ju maʊð it, æz 'meni əv juə  
 'pleɪəz du:, ai hæd æz li:f ðə taʊn 'kraɪə spoɪk maɪ  
 laɪnz. nɔ du nɒt sɔ: ði eɪə tu: mʌtʃ wɪð juə hænd,  
 5 ðæs, bət juz ɔɪl 'dʒentli; fɔɪ ɪn ðə 'veri 'tərənt, 'tem-  
 pist, ænd æz ai meɪ seɪ, ðə 'meɪl'wind əv 'pæʃən, ju  
 mʌst ə'kwæɪə ænd bɪ'get ə 'tempərəns ðæt me: gɪv ɪt  
 'smu:ðnəs. o ɪt ə'fendz mi tə ðə soul tu hɪɪ ə rɒ'bʌs-  
 tʃəs 'perɪ'wɪg-'peɪtəd 'felo tɛɪ ə 'pæʃən tu 'tætəz,  
 10 tu 'veri rægz, tu split ði 'iəz əv ðə 'graʊndlɪŋz, hu:  
 fɔ ðə most paɪt aɪ 'keɪpəbl əv 'nʌθɪŋ bʌt ɪn'eksplɪkəbl  
 'dʌm-'ʃoʊz ænd nɔɪz. aɪ kʊd hæv sʌtʃ ə 'felo ʌɪpt fɔɪ  
 'ɔɪ'duɪŋ 'teɪmægənt; ɪt 'aʊt'herədz 'herəd; prei ju  
 ə'vɔɪd ɪt.  
 15 bɪ: nɒt tu teɪm 'ni:ðəɪ, bət let juə ɒn dɪs'kreʃən  
 bɪ juə 'tjʊtəɪ; sju:t ði 'ækʃən tu ðə weɪd, ðə weɪd tə  
 ði 'ækʃən; wɪð ðɪs 'speʃəl əb'zeɪvəns, ðætʃu 'ɔɪ'steɪp  
 nɒt ðə 'mədəsti əv 'neɪtʃəɪ; fɔɪ 'enɪ'θɪŋ so 'ovə'dʌn ɪz  
 frəm ðə 'peɪpəs əv 'pleɪŋ, hʊz end, bəθ æt ðə feɪst  
 20 ænd naʊ, wɔz ænd ɪz, tu haʊld, æz twɛɪ, ðə 'mɪrəɪ  
 ʌp tu 'neɪtʃəɪ; tu ʃoʊ 'veɪtʃu həɪ ɒn 'fɪtʃəɪ, skəɪn  
 həɪ ɒn 'ɪmɪdʒ, ænd ðə 'veri eɪdʒ ænd 'bɒdɪ əv ðə  
 taɪm, hɪz fə:m ænd 'preʃəɪ. naʊ ðɪs 'ovə'dʌn, ə kʌm  
 'taɪdɪ ɔɪf, ðo ɪt me:k ði ʌn'skɪlfəl laɪf, 'kæ'nɒt bət me:k  
 25 ðə dʒu'dɪʃəs grɪv; ðə 'senʃəɪ əv ðə ʌɪtʃ wʌn mʌst ɪn  
 juə ə'laʊəns, 'ɔɪ'wei ə haʊl 'θɪətəɪ əv 'ʌðəz.

## Hamlet's Speech

Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to  
 you, trippingly on the tongue; but if you mouth it, as

many of your players do, I had as lief the town-crier spoke my lines. Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand, thus, but use all gently; for in the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, the whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness. O, it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, who for the most part are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb-shows and noise. I would have such a fellow whipped for o'er-doing Termagant; it outhierods Herod; pray you, avoid it.

Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor; suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature; for anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at first and now, was and is, to hold, as 't were, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure. Now this overdone, or come tardy off, though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve; the censure of the which one must in your allowance o'erweigh a whole theater of others.

#### REMARKS

The transcription of this passage from *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene II, represents the pronunciation of Miss Theodora Ursula Irvine, a professional teacher of public speaking, who has given particular attention to training students for the stage. The passage is not rendered in a highly formal, dramatic style, but as the sense of it would seem to demand, in what might be called a formal natural

style. The tempo is somewhat slower than conversation, and some sounds are given clearer and different values than they would have in familiar style. Long [e] and [o] are more diphthongal than they customarily are in American speech.

1. 2. [jʊə]. A final [ɹ] is distinctly present when the succeeding word begins with a vowel, or in logically prominent words followed by a pause. When final before immediately following words with a consonant, no *r* is audible in Miss Irvine's pronunciation, though internally *r* before a consonant is sometimes given audible value, sometimes not. This is so slight, however, that it seemed better not to record it in the transcription. Intervocalic *r* is commonly trilled by Miss Irvine, though not strongly, but *r* after a consonant, as in ['trɪpɪŋlɹ], l. 2, is not trilled. The most notable feature of Miss Irvine's pronunciation is the value given to vowels *e*, *i* in stressed syllables before *r* followed by a consonant. This has been transcribed as [ɛ:], as in ll. 6, 13, 16, 19, 21. The symbol is not adequate, however, since the sound is not the same as the vowel of *there*, *where*, etc., but may be described as a mid front tense neutral vowel, which is kept distinct from both [A:] and [ə].

Miss Irvine pronounces *your* as [jʊə] or [jɔə] indifferently. Words with 'long *o*' are not always strongly diphthongal, sometimes not at all, as in [spɔ:k], l. 3. In l. 8 the exclamation [o] is short and not strongly stressed.

For *o* in *not*, l. 4, *modesty*, l. 18, *body*, l. 22, etc., Miss Irvine's sound is closer to [ɔ] than to [a].

### XIII

#### 'gromɪ oɪld

fəɪ 'fɔ:tɪ 'jɪəɪz nekst 'i:stəɪ deɪ,  
hɪm n mi: ɪn wɪnd n 'weðəɪ  
həv bɪn ə-'gɪtn bent n greɪ  
'mæɡn ə'lɒŋ tə'geðəɪ.

5

wɪɪ nɒt so 'veri oɪld, əv kəʊs!  
bət stɪl, wɪ eɪnt so 'ɔɪfəl spræɪ  
əz mæn wɪ went tə 'sɪŋən-'skuɪl

ə'fʊt n krəs lʌts, hɪm n aɪ —  
 n wɔɪkt bæʃ hoɪm ðə 'lɒŋgəst weɪ —  
 10 n ðə muɪn ə-ʃaɪnən ɒn ðə snəʊ,  
 'meɪkn ðə roɪd əz braɪt əz deɪ  
 n hɪz vɔɪs 'tɔɪkn loʊ.

lænd seɪks! dʒest 'hɪəɪ mɪ tɔɪk —  
 fəɪ ɔɪl ðə wɔɪld, dʒest laɪk ə ɡæɪl,  
 15 mɪɪ — nɪlɪ 'sɪkstɪ! — 'wel — ə — 'wel!  
 aɪ wəz so təɪl n strɒŋ, ðə kɔɪl  
 ɪn maɪ 'heɪəɪ, sɪm sed, wəz laɪk  
 ðə 'krɪŋklz ɪn ə 'medəɪ brʊk,  
 so braʊn n braɪt! bət 'ðeɪəɪ!

20 aɪ ɡes hɪ ɡʌt ət frʌm ə bʊk.  
 hɪz tɔɪk ɪn ðem ðeɪ deɪz wəz fʊl  
 ɒv dʒest setʃ 'nan'sens — 'doʊntʃu θɪŋk  
 aɪ 'dɪdnt laɪk ət, fəɪ aɪ dɪd!  
 aɪ wɔɪkt ə'lɒŋ ðeɪɪ ɡlæd tə drɪŋk  
 25 hɪz wɔɪdz ɪn laɪk ðə brɛθ ə laɪf —  
 'hevənz n ɔɪθ, mʌt fuɪlz wɪ 'wɪmən bɪɪ!  
 n mæn hɪ æst mɪ fəɪ ɪz waɪf,  
 aɪ 'ænsəɪd 'jes, ɒv kɔɪs, jə sɪɪ.

30 n ðen kʌm wɔɪk, n 'træbl bɪt —  
 nʌt mʌtʃ taɪm fəɪ 'lʌv'tɔɪk ðen!  
 wɪ bɔɪt ə faɪm n 'mɔɪɡɪdʒd ɪt,  
 n wɔɪkt n sleɪvd laɪk ɔɪl pə'sest  
 tə lɪft ðæt 'tɔɪrəbl 'ɡraɪndn weɪt.

35 aɪ wɔɪst n tʃəɪnd n soʊd —  
 n 'tʃɪldən kʌm, tɪl wɪ hæd eɪt

əz 'hænsəm beɪbz əz 'evəɪ groud  
tə wɔɪk bə'saɪd ə 'mʌðəɪz niː.  
ðeː helpt mi beɪɪ ɪt ɔɪl, jə siː.

40 it eɪnt bɪn 'nʌθən els bət skrʌb  
n rʌb n beɪk n stuː  
ðə hʌl, hʌl tʌɪm, ovəɪ stoɪv əɪ tʌb —  
no tʌɪm tə rest əz men foɪks duː. —  
aɪ tel jə, səm'tʌɪmz aɪ sɪt n θɪŋk  
hʌv naɪs ðə greɪv l biː, dʒest  
45 wʌn naɪs, swɪt, 'evəɪ'læstn rest!

o doɪnt lʊk 'skeərt! aɪ miːn  
dʒest mət aɪ seɪ. eɪnt 'kreɪzɪ jet,  
bət ɪts ə'nʌf tə meɪk mi sou —  
əv kɔɪs ɪt eɪnt no juːs tə fret —  
50 hu sed ɪt wəz? ɪts 'nætʃəl, ðoʊ,  
bət oʊ, ɪf aɪ wəz 'oɪnli 'ðeɪə —  
ɪn ðə pæst, n jʌŋ wʌns 'məɪə —  
n hæd ðə 'krɪŋklz ɪn maɪ 'heɪə —  
n aɪmz əz raʊnd n strɒŋ, n saɪd  
55 əz ɪt wəz ðen! — aɪd — aɪd —

aɪd duː ət ɔɪl 'ovəɪ ə'gen, laɪk ə fuɪl,  
aɪ spoɪz! aɪd teɪk ðə peɪn  
n wɔɪk n 'wʌɪ, beɪbz n ɔɪl.  
aɪ spoɪz θɪŋz goʊ baɪ sʌm bɪg ruːl  
60 əv ɡʌdz oʊn buːk, bət maɪ oʊl breɪn  
kænt fɪks əm ʌp, so aɪl dʒest weɪt  
n duː maɪ duːtɪ mən ɪts 'kliə,  
n trʌst tə hɪm tə meɪk ət streɪt.  
— — — 'ɡʊdnəs! nuːn ɪz 'ɒlmoːst 'hɪə  
65 n ðeɪ ðə mən kʌm θruː ðə geɪt!

### Growing Old

F'r forty years next Easter day, -  
 Him and me in wind and weather  
 Have been a-gittin' bent 'n' gray -  
 Moggin' along together.

We're not so *very* old, of course!  
 But still, we ain't so awful spry  
 As when we went to singin'-school -  
 Afoot and 'cross lots, him and I —  
 And walked back home the longest way —  
 An' the moon a-shinin' on the snow,  
 Makin' the road as bright as day  
 An' his voice talkin' low.

Land sakes! Jest hear me talk —  
 F'r all the world, jest like a girl,  
 Me — nearly sixty! — Well — a — well!  
 I *was* so tall and strong, the curl  
 In my hair, Sim said, was like  
 The crinkles in a medder brook,  
 So brown and bright! but there!  
 I guess he got it from a book.

His talk in them there days was full  
 Of jest sech nonsense — Don't you think  
 I didn't like it, for I did!  
 I walked along there, glad to drink  
 His words in like the breath o' life —  
 Heavens and earth, what fools we women be!  
 And when he asked me for his wife,  
 I answered 'yes,' of course, y' see.



And then come work, and trouble bit —  
Not much time for love talk then!  
We bought a farm and mortgaged it,  
And worked and slaved like all possessed  
To lift that turrible grindin' weight.

I washed and churned and sewed —  
An' childurn come, till we had eight  
As han'some babes as ever growed  
To walk beside a mother's knee.  
They helped me bear it all, y' see.

It ain't been nothin' else but scrub  
An' rub and bake and stew  
The hull, hull time, over stove or tub —  
No time to rest as men folks do. —  
I tell yeh, sometimes I sit and think  
*How nice the grave 'll be, jest*  
*One nice, sweet, everlastin' rest.*

O don't look scart! I mean  
Jest what I say. Ain't crazy yet,  
But its enough to make me so —  
Of course it ain't no use to fret —  
Who said it was? It's nacherl, though,  
But O, if I was only there —  
In the past, and young once more —  
An' had the crinkles in my hair —  
An' arms as round and strong, and side  
As it was then! — I'd — I'd —

I'd do it all over again, like a fool,  
I s'pose! I'd take the pain

An' work an' worry, babes and all.  
 I s'pose things go by some big rule  
 Of God's own book, but my ol' brain  
 Can't fix 'um up, so I'll just wait  
 An' do my duty when it's clear,  
 An' trust to Him to make it straight.  
 — — — Goodness! noon is almost here,  
 And there the men come through the gate!

## REMARKS

From *Prairie Songs*, by Hamlin Garland, pp. 142-144. The volume was published in 1893, and the poem represents a rustic dialect of the Middle West, specifically Iowa, as spoken by the pioneer settlers. It has now passed out of existence, except for sporadic survivals in country districts which have been only slightly affected by the leveling influences of public school instruction.

In this and the following dialect passages, the author's method has been to transcribe as dialectal only what it seems to have been the intention of the original writers of the passages to indicate by means of spelling as dialectal. Otherwise the passages have been transcribed in familiar colloquial style, appropriate to the general tone of the writings, but not necessarily peculiar to any particular dialect. It should be remembered that writers of dialect literature seldom endeavor to indicate dialect features either exhaustively or systematically. Mr. Garland has made no attempt to indicate different kinds of *r* in this poem, but *r* before consonants and finally is usually [r] in Iowa speech, both dialect and cultivated, or even at times back *r*, see § 44.

## XIV

## 'jæŋkɪ spɪntʃ

næʊ ɪz ðə 'wɪntə əv 'æʊə 'diskən'tent  
 məd 'glɔriəs 'sɑmə baɪ ðɪs sɑn ə jɔɪk,  
 n ɔɪl ðə 'klæʊdz ðət læʊəd ə'pɑn æʊə hæʊs  
 ɪn ðə di:p 'bɑzəm ə ðɪ 'o:ʃɪn 'berɪd;

- 5 næʊ ə æʊə bræʊz bæʊnd ið vɪk'tɔriəs ri:ðz;  
 æʊə 'brju:zɪd aɪmz hʌŋ ʌp fə 'mɒni'mens;  
 æʊə stɑ:n ə'lərəmz 'tʃændʒd tə'məri 'mi:ŋz,  
 æʊə 'drefl 'maɪtʃɪz tə də'laɪfl 'meɪʒəz.  
 'grɪm-'vɪzɪdʒd wə: heθ 'smju:ðd hɪz 'rɪŋkld frʌnt,  
 10 n næʊ, ɪn'stɪd ə 'mæʊntɪn 'beəbɪd stɪɪdz  
 tə frʌt ðə sʊlz ə 'flaɪfl 'edvə'serɪz,  
 hɪ 'keɪpəz 'nɪmli ɪn ə 'leɪdɪz 'tʃæmbə,  
 tə ðə lə'sɪvɪəs 'pli:zɪŋ əv ə lʊt.

### Yankee Speech

Neow is the winta uv eour discontent  
 Med glorious summa by this sun o' Yock,  
 An' all the cleouds thet leowered upun eour heouse  
 In the deep buzzum o' the oshin buried;  
 Neow air eour breows beound 'ith victorious wreaths;  
 Eour breused arms hung up fer monimunce;  
 Eour starn alarums changed to merry meetins,  
 Eour drefle marches to delighfle masures.  
 Grim-visaged war heth smeuthed his wrinkled front,  
 An' neow, instid o' mountin' barebid steeds  
 To fright the souls o' ferfle edverseries,  
 He capers nimly in a lady's chămber,  
 To the lascivious pleasin' uv a loot.

Now is the winter of our discontent  
 Made glorious summer by this sun of York,  
 And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house  
 In the deep bosom of the ocean buried;  
 Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;  
 Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;  
 Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings,

Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.  
 Grim-visaged war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front,  
 And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds  
 To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,  
 He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber,  
 To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.

## REMARKS

In the introduction to the First Series of the *Biglow Papers*, Lowell gave a version of the opening lines of *Richard III*, using the ordinary spelling to indicate as exactly as he could the pronunciation of the rustic Yankee of his day. Lowell's spelling is given here for the sake of comparison with the phonetic transcription of it which precedes it. The passage represents dialect New England speech of the middle of the last century, but many of the characteristics indicated by Lowell still survive. The author has profited by a phonetic transcription of the passage made by Professor Grandgent, in *From Franklin to Lowell, A Century of New England Pronunciation*, Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. VII (New Series), p. 239 (1899).

After having given a description of New England dialect speech, Lowell adds, "To the dish thus seasoned, add a drawl *ad libitum*," but he does not try to represent the drawl.

1. 1. [næʊ]. As the first element in the diphthong, [æ] for [a] is still heard in New England and in certain regions of the South.

1. 3. [ə'pən]. Still current dialectally.

1. 6. ['brju:zɪd]. See also ['smju:ðd], 1. 9. Grandgent, in the article cited above, pp. 224-226, notes a confusion in the use of [u] and [ju] in New England speech which was at its height about 1820 and which affected both polite and dialect speech. As a result a pronunciation [ju] was often transferred to words where it was organically difficult to pronounce, as in ['brju:zɪd] or where it did not historically belong, as in ['smju:ðd].

1. 7. [stɑ:n]. The pronunciation of *e* followed by *r* and a consonant as [ɑ:], which still persists in England, e.g., in *clerk* [klɑ:k], *Derby* ['dɑ:bɪ], etc., is nowhere current in cultivated American speech and has almost if not completely disappeared from the dia-

lects. New England words which are pronounced with [a:] are written with a, as in **Marcy** from older **Mercy**, **darn**, the expletive, from older **dern** (which of course also persists as [dɜrn, dɜ:n]), **tarnal** probably from **eternal**.

## XV

## 'a:ɪtɪ ənd 'klɔ:di

"'Mɛɪsɪ: ət?" rɪ'pɪtəd ðə 'mɛsɪndʒəɪ bəɪ . . . mɛn hɪ æskt "'Mɛɪsɪ: ət?" hɪ prə'nɔunst ɪt "'Mɛɪsɪ:", ənd ɪn ɔɪl hɪz 'sʌbsɪkwənt tɔɪk, hɪ geɪv ðə "s" ə sɔft ənd 'hɪsɪŋ saʊnd wel prə'lɔŋd, tu ðə 'ɛvədənt ɪn'dʒɔɪmənt  
5 əv 'a:ɪtɪ ənd ðə maɪld 'wʌndəɪmənt əv 'mɪləɪ.

"Mɛɪz hu: ət?" dɪ'mændəd 'a:ɪtɪ, ə'daptɪŋ ə fraʊn ənd ə haɪf 'mænəɪ.

"waɪ, tə 'fɔɪ-ˈaɪd nɒbz dæt sent mɪ aʊt ɔn tə saʊt saɪd."

10 "aɪ ju ðə seɪm 'lɪtl bəɪ? 'wʊdnt ðæt frɔst jə, ðəʊ, 'mɪləɪ? ðɪs əz 'lɪtl 'braɪt-ˈaɪz ðət tuk ðə nɔɪt fəɪ haɪl."

"ɔɪ, mɛts 'ɪɪtn jə?" æskt ðə bəɪ, 'gɪvɪŋ ə 'wɔɪˈlaɪk kɔɪl tə ðə 'kɔɪnəɪz əv hɪz maʊθ.

"ɔɪ, a:ɪ! 'lɪsn tə ðæt. aɪl 'betʃəɪ ðə 'tɒfəst bəɪ  
15 ðət 'ɛvəɪ 'hæpnd. 'mætʃu bɪn 'duən ɔɪl deɪ, 'pleɪən 'maɪblz fəɪ kɪps əɪ 'stændn ɪn frʌnt ə wʌn ə ðɛm dæm mju'ziəmz?"

"ɔɪ, seɪ; jə tɪŋk jəɪ flaɪ. dæt jʌŋ 'feləɪ sent mɪ ɔɪl tə weɪ tə 'fɔɪtɪ-ˈtri: 'naɪntɪ-ˈtri: 'kæləmet 'ævnʊɪ. aɪ  
20 'kʊdnt ɡɪt bæɪk nɔ- 'sʊnəɪ."

"hu wʌz ɪt ðə nɔɪt wəz tuɪ?"

"hɪz ræg, ə ɡɛs."

"ɔɪ! hɪz ræg! 'mʌdʒə θɪŋk ə ðæt, 'mɪləɪ? eɪnt  
ðɪs bəɪ ə bæɪd! kn jə bɪ:t ɪm? kn jə taɪ ɪm? bəɪ,  
25 juɪ ɔɪl rʌɪt."

"so- əɪ ju — dæt ɪz, frʌm jəɪ hed ʌp."

"n ðə fɪt daʊn, hʌ? juː wʌn ə ðəm 'hʌli tʃiː,  
'tʃʌni' bɔɪz, 'eɪntʃə? jəɪ so tʌf ðə 'kʊdnt 'dentʃə wɪð  
n æks."

- 30 "ɪz dæt sɪoʊ?" æskt ðə bɔɪ, wɪð ə 'fraɪtʃəl ɪs'keɪp  
əv "s," ənd ə 'glæɪ sʌtʃ əz hɪ mʌst əv juɪzd tə 'tɛrɪ'faɪ  
ɔɪl ðə 'smɔɪləɪ bɔɪz æt ðə 'kɔɪl 'steʃən.

"ɪf aɪ wəz əz tʌf əz ju aɪ, aɪd bɪ ə'freɪd ə maɪ'self,  
ən ðə 'levəl."

- 35 "jə tɪŋk jəɪ 'hævn spɔɪt wɪt mi, 'doʊntʃə? aɪ sɪm ə  
lʌt ə dem 'fʌni mægʒ bə'fɔɪɪ dɪs."

"wʌɪ, 'klɔɪdɪ, aɪ 'wʊdnt traɪ tə dʒɔɪʃ jə. aɪ θɪŋk jəɪ  
ə naɪs, klɪn bɔɪ. 'eɪntʃə 'gɔnə teɪk ɔɪf jəɪ glʌvz?"

'mɪləɪ lɪnd bæʃk ɪn hɪz tʃeɪɪ ənd haʊld wɪð 'læftəɪ.

- 40 "aɪ beg jəɪ 'paɪdn, 'klɔɪdɪ," kən'tɪnjʊd 'aɪtɪ. "aɪ  
θɔɪt ðəm wəz glʌvz jə hæd ən. dʒɪɪ, ɪz ðəm jəɪ mɪts?  
jəɪ ə bru'net, 'eɪntʃə?"

ðə 'mesɪndʒəɪ bɔɪ hæd bɪn 'sʌm'mʌt 'teɪkn ə'bæk baɪ  
ðɪ ə'luʒən tu hɪz "glʌvz," bət hɪ rɪ'kʌvəɪd ənd sɛd,

- 45 stɪl 'geɪzɪŋ æt aɪtɪ: "sɪen, jəɪ 'hævn ɔɪl kaɪndz ə fʌn  
wɪt mi, 'eɪntʃə? wel, 'wʌtʃu — 'enɪ'tɪŋ ju seɪ kʌts no  
aɪs wɪt mi."

### Artie and Claudie

"Where's he at?" repeated the messenger boy . . .  
When he asked "Where's he at?" he pronounced it  
"where 'ce," and in all his subsequent talk he gave  
the "s" a soft and hissing sound well prolonged, to  
the evident enjoyment of Artie and the mild wonder-  
ment of Miller.

"Where's who at?" demanded Artie, adopting a  
frown and a harsh manner.

"W'y, t'e four-eyed nobbs dat sent me out on t'e  
Sout' Side."



"Are you the same little boy? Wouldn't that frost you, though, Miller? This is little Bright-eyes that took the note for Hall."

"Aw, what's eatin' you?" asked the boy, giving a warlike curl to the corner of his mouth.

"Oh, ow! listen to that. I'll bet you're the toughest boy that ever happened. What you been doin' all day — playin' marbles for keeps or standin' in front o' one o' them dime museums?"

"Aw, say; you t'ink you're fly. Dat young feller sent me all t'e way to forty-t'ree ninety-t'ree Callamet av'noo. I couldn't get back no sooner."

"Who was it the note was to?"

"His rag, I guess."

"Oh—h—h—h! His rag! What do you think o' that, Miller? Ain't this boy a bird! Can you beat him? Can you tie him? Boy, you're all right."

"So are you — dat is, from y'r head up."

"An' the feet down, huh? You're one o' them 'Hully chee, Chonny,' boys, ain't you? You're so tough they couldn't dent you with an axe."

"Is dat so—o—o—o?" asked the boy, with a frightful escape of "s" and a glare such as he must have used to terrify all the smaller boys at the call station.

"If I was as tough as you are I'd be afraid o' myself, on the level."

"You t'ink you're havin' sport wit' me, don't you? I seen a lot o' dem funny mugs before dis."

"W'y, Claudie, I wouldn't try to josh you. I think you're a nice, clean boy. Ain't you goin' to take off your gloves?"

Miller leaned back in his chair and howled with laughter.

"I beg y'r pardon, Claudie," continued Artie. "I thought them was gloves you had on. Gee, is them your mits? You're a brunette, ain't you?"

The messenger boy had been somewhat taken aback by the allusion to his "gloves," but he recovered and said, still gazing at Artie: "S—s—ay, you're havin' all kinds o' fun wit' me, ain't you? Well, w'at you — anyt'ing you say cuts no ice wit' me."

## REMARKS

From *Artie, A Story of the Streets and Town*, by George Ade, Chicago, 1897. Artie exemplifies a dialect of Chicago as spoken by a free and easy office clerk, the messenger boy a somewhat lower dialect of the streets. The dialect is of course only partially indicated by the author's spellings. In l. 1, the author records a voiceless [m] in *where*, and this has been allowed to stand, and so also in *what*, l. 12, though these are probably inadvertencies, the boy's dialect apparently having only [w]. For [æskt], l. 2, see above, § 346.

## XVI

## 'tʃɪmɪ 'fædn

lən taim sɪns jə sɪn mɪ? sɛt. 'dɔːntʃə nɔː də  
'riːzn? ʌaɪ, aɪ wəz 'mæɪd. 'ʃʊə. aɪ nɔːd jəd daɪ  
mɛn aɪ tɔɪl jə. jɛs, ɪt wəz də 'dʌtʃəs; aɪ gɛs jə nɔɪd  
dæt. wɛl, 'lɛmɪ tɛl jə. ɪt wəz də 'kɔːkənəst 'wɛdn dəɪ  
5 'ɛvəɪ wəz, wɪd sʌtʃ mʌgz əz mɪː n də 'dʌtʃəs 'duən də  
'prɪnsɪpl ɪ'vent ə də 'iɪvnən.

sɛɪ, aɪ 'nɛvəɪ tɔɪt dəɪ wəz sɔ mʌtʃ 'flɪm-'flɛm bʌt  
'gɛtn 'rɛdɪ tə bɪ 'mæɪd. aɪ 'nɪə gat də 'rætlz wʌnst,  
n wəz 'gɔɪn tə mɛɪk də græn snɪk; bət aɪ tʊk ə brɛɪs,  
10 kɔːz aɪ wəz 'tɪŋkn dæt ɪf aɪ snɪk, dæt ɪt wʊd 'kwɪəɪ  
mɪs 'fænɪz gɛm, n aɪ 'wʊdnɪt 'kwɪəɪ mɪs 'fænɪz gɛːm  
ɪf aɪ hæd tə sɛt ʌp ə 'fjʊnərəl stɪd ə ə 'wɛdn.

wɛl, də fɔːst fɛːk wət 'pærələɪzd mɪː wəz də 'dʌtʃəs

- 'se:ən dəɪ məst bi: wət ʃi: kəʊld ə 'mæɪɪdʒ 'kəntrækt.  
 15 sei, it wəz wəʊs dən 'getn aʊt ə dʒeɪl ɒn beɪl. aɪ ges  
 wi:z 'wʊdn̩t bi 'mæɪɪd ʒet, ɪf it wəznt fəɪ 'mɪstəɪ  
 'bæɪtn, wɒts mɪs 'fæni:z 'felɪ. i: n mɪs 'fæni:, de wəz  
 boɪt 'ni:ə 'kreɪzi baʊt 'aʊəɪ 'wedn, n wəz 'fɑ:sn̩ baʊt  
 20 it məɪ dən de ɪz baʊt dəɪ oʊn.  
 wel, 'mɪstəɪ 'bæɪtn, i: sent fəɪ mi, n telz mi tə kɑ:m  
 tə ɪz 'tʃeɪmbəɪz. i: sez tə mi:, sez i:, 'tʃeɪmz,' ɪ sez,  
 'kɑ:m dɪs 'i:vn̩ən tə mi 'tʃeɪmbəɪz. aɪ kəʊlz mi 'paɪt-  
 ments mi 'tʃeɪmbəɪz fəɪ dɪs 'keɪʒən 'oɪnli,' sez i:,  
 'gɪvn̩ mi də wɪŋk, 'kəʊz dɪs ɪz ə 'li:ŋgəl 'mætəɪ, n ɪn  
 25 də ten 'ʒi:əz aɪv bi: 'mɪtəd tə də baɪl,' sez i:, 'dɪs ɪz  
 də fəɪst taɪm aɪ 'evəɪ hæd ə keɪs.'

### Chimmie Fadden

Long time since ye seen me? Cert. Don't ye know de reason? Why, I was married. Sure. I knowed 'ye'd die when I tole ye. Yes, it was de Duchess; I guess ye knowed dat. Well, lemme tell ye. It was de corkin'est weddin' dere ever was, wid such mugs as me an' de Duchess doin' de principal event er de evenin'.

Say, I never taut dere was so much flim-flam 'bout gettin' ready to be married. I near got de rattles onct, an' was goin' t' make de gran' sneak; but I took er brace, 'cause I was tinkin' dat if I snook, dat it would queer Miss Fannie's game, an' I wouldn't queer Miss Fannie's game if I had t' set up er funeral 'stid er a weddin'.

Well, de first fake wot paralyzed me was de Duchess sayin' dere must be wot she called er marriage contract. Say, it was worse dan gettin' outter jail on bail. I guess wese wouldn't be married yet if it wasn't

fer Mr. Burton, wot's Miss Fannie's felly. 'E an' Miss Fannie, dey was bote near crazy 'bout our weddin', an' was fussin' 'bout it more dan dey is 'bout dere own.

Well, Mr. Burton, 'e sent fer me an' tells me t' come t' 'is chambers. 'E says t' me, says 'e, 'Chames,' 'e says, 'come dis evenin' t' me chambers. I calls me 'partments me chambers fer dis 'casion only,' says 'e, givin' me de wink, 'cause dis is er legal matter, an' in de ten years I've been 'mitted t' de bar,' says 'e, 'dis is de first time I ever had er case.'

### REMARKS

This passage, from the Chimmie Fadden stories of Mr. E. W. Townsend, represents a Bowery dialect of New York City. The author of the stories made greater effort than is usual with writers of dialect stories to record a considerable body of detail derived from direct observation. The student will see, however, that even here the dialect is sometimes only suggested, e.g., l. 9 ['go:ɪn tə me:k] in popular speech like this would be ['gɒnə me:k] or ['gənə me:k], and [həd tə], l. 12, would more likely be [hætə], etc. It is suggested that students make a new transcription of the passage not merely on the basis of Mr. Townsend's text but taking account of features of illiterate dialect speech which Mr. Townsend has not recorded. Some of the respects in which this dialect differs from ordinary colloquial English are (a) the replacing of [θ] and [ð] by [t] and [d] respectively; (b) [dʒ] becoming [tʃ]; (c) loss of final dentals, as in [to:ɪ], l. 3, [græn], l. 9; final [n] for [ŋ] in the ending -ing, though this is very general in all colloquial speech; [w] for [ʌ]. Writings like t' come for to come, t' me for to me, etc., are transcribed as [tə kəm], [tə mɪ], etc., though in this dialect there is practically no vowel after [t] in these phrases, and it might be omitted. The occasional spelling *er*, for example, *dis is er legal matter*, is probably intended to indicate only [ə]. The spelling *why*, l. 2, is probably an inadvertence for dialect [waɪ]. A feature of this dialect which is not recorded either in the conventional spelling of the passage or the phonetic transcription is the very strongly aspirated character of stop consonants, see above, § 13.

## XVII

## Ðə vɔɪs

'ɔɪl ðə 'haʊs wəz 'stɪl; fər aɪ bɪlɪv ɔɪl, ɪksept 'sɪndʒən  
 ənd maɪ'self, wə 'naʊ rɪ'taɪəd tə 'rest. ðə 'wʌn 'kændl  
 wəz 'daɪnɪŋ 'aʊt; ðə 'rʊm wəz 'fʊl əv 'muːnlait. maɪ  
 'haɪt biːt 'fəɪst ənd 'θɪk; aɪ 'hæɪd ɪts 'θrəb. 'sɑdnli ɪt  
 5 'stud 'stɪl tu ən ɪnɪks'presɪbl 'fɪlɪŋ ðæt θ'rɪld ɪt 'θruː  
 ənd 'paɪst ət 'wʌns tə maɪ 'hed ənd ɪks'tremɪtɪz. ðə  
 fɪlɪŋ wəz 'nɒt laɪk ən ɪ'lektrɪk 'ʃɒk, bət ɪt wəz 'kwart  
 əz 'ʃaɪp, əz 'streɪndʒ, əz 'stɑːtɪŋ; ɪt 'æktɪd ən maɪ  
 'sensɪz əz ɪf ðeər ʌtmoust æk'tɪvɪtɪ hɪðə'tuː hæd bɪn  
 10 bət 'təɪpə, frəm wɪtʃ (or ʌɪtʃ) ðeɪ wə 'naʊ 'sʌmənd  
 ənd 'fəɪst tu 'weɪk. ðeɪ 'rouz ɪks'pektənt; 'aɪ ənd 'ɪə  
 'weɪtɪd weɪl (or ʌɪl) ðə 'fleɪ 'kwɪvəd ən maɪ 'bəʊnz.

"'wɒt (or ʌɒt) əv (or həv) juː 'hæɪd? wɒt (or ʌɒt)  
 d (or də) juː 'sɪː?" ɑːskt 'sɪndʒən. aɪ 'sɔː 'nʌðɪŋ, bət  
 15 aɪ 'hæɪd ə 'vɔɪs 'sʌmwɛə (or 'sʌmmɛə) kraɪ —

"'dʒeɪn, 'dʒeɪn, 'dʒeɪn!" — 'nʌðɪŋ 'məɪ.

"'ou 'gɒd! 'wɒt (or 'ʌɒt) ɪz ɪt?" aɪ 'ɡaɪspt.

aɪ 'maɪt əv (or həv) sed, "'weər (or 'meər) ɪz ɪt?"  
 fər ɪt 'dɪd nɒt sɪm ɪn ðə 'rʊm, nəɪr ɪn ðə 'haʊs, nəɪr  
 20 ɪn ðə 'ɡaɪdn; ɪt 'dɪd nɒt kʌm aʊt əv ðɪ 'eə, nəː frəm  
 ʌndə ðɪ 'əːθ, nəː frəm ʊvə'hed. aɪ əd (or həd) 'hæɪd  
 ɪt — 'weə (or 'meə), ɔː 'wens (or 'mens), fər 'evə (or  
 'evər) ɪm'pɒsɪbl tə 'nou! ənd ɪt wəz ðə vɔɪs əv ə 'hjuː-  
 mən 'biːnɪŋ — ə 'noun, 'lʌvd, 'wel rɪ'membəd 'vɔɪs —  
 25 'ðæt əv 'edwəd 'feəfæks 'rɒtʃɪstə; ənd ɪt spəʊk ɪn  
 'peɪn ənd 'wou, 'waɪldli, 'ɪərli, 'əɪdʒəntli.

"'aɪ əm 'kʌmɪŋ!" aɪ kraɪd, "'weɪt fə miː! 'ou, aɪ  
 wɪl 'kʌm!" aɪ 'fluː tə ðə 'dɔː, ənd 'lʊkt ɪntə ðə 'pæ-  
 sɪdʒ; ɪt wəz 'daɪk. aɪ 'ræn 'aʊt ɪntə ðə 'ɡaɪdn; ɪt wəz  
 30 'vɔɪd.

“wæar (or 'æær) 'aɪ juɪ?” aɪ ɪks'kleɪmd.

ðə 'hɪlz brɪ'jənd 'maɪʃ 'ɡlen 'sɛnt ðɪ 'aɪnsə 'feɪntli  
 bæk, “wæar (or 'æær) 'aɪ juɪ?” aɪ 'lɪsnd. ðə 'wɪnd  
 'saɪd 'lou ɪn ðə 'fæɪz; 'oɪl wəz 'mʊələnd, 'ləʊnlɪmɪs ənd  
 35 'mɪdnɑɪt hʌʃ.

### The Voice

All the house was still; for I believe all, except St. John and myself, were now retired to rest. The one candle was dying out; the room was full of moonlight. My heart beat fast and thick; I heard its throb. Suddenly it stood still to an inexpressible feeling that thrilled it through, and passed at once to my head and extremities. The feeling was not like an electric shock, but it was quite as sharp, as strange, as startling; it acted on my senses as if their utmost activity hitherto had been but torper, from which they were now summoned and forced to wake. They rose expectant; eye and ear waited while the flesh quivered on my bones.

“What have you heard? What do you see?” asked St. John. I saw nothing, but I heard a voice somewhere cry —

“Jane! Jane! Jane!” — nothing more.

“O God! what is it?” I gasped.

I might have said, “Where is it?” for it did not seem in the room, nor in the house, nor in the garden; it did not come out of the air, nor from under the earth, nor from overhead. I had heard it — where, or whence, for ever impossible to know! And it was the voice of a human being — a known, loved, well-remembered voice — that of Edward Fairfax Roches-



ter; and it spoke in pain and woe, wildly, eerily, urgently.

"I am coming!" I cried. "Wait for me! Oh, I will come!" I flew to the door and looked into the passage; it was dark. I ran out into the garden; it was void.

"Where are you?" I exclaimed.

The hills beyond Marsh Glen sent the answer faintly back, "Where are you?" I listened. The wind sighed low in the firs; all was moorland loneliness and midnight hush.

### REMARKS

This passage is adapted from Jones, *Pronunciation of English*, pp. 73-74. It is supposed to be standard British pronunciation in a careful conversational style. The passage is from *Jane Eyre*, Chapter XXXV. The only changes that have been made in Mr. Jones's notation have been the use of [ɪ] for his [i], [ʊ] for his [u], and [ɛ] for his [e] to indicate respectively the slack qualities of the several sounds as short vowels. Mr. Jones regularly uses the symbol [e] for the vowel of *rest*, *flesh*, etc., and [ɛ], he says, occurs in standard pronunciation only in the diphthong [ɛə], as in *there*, *their* [ðɛə], etc. This latter sound is slightly lower (or in Mr. Jones's terminology, more open) than his [e], as in *rest*, *set*, etc. Since in this volume the same symbol, [e], has been used for the vowel of *set* and the vowel of *their*, the distinction made by Mr. Jones is not recorded in the above transcription. With this exception, the author thinks he has given a faithful reproduction of Mr. Jones's pronunciation. The accents are those given by Mr. Jones.

1. 1. [haus]. Mr. Jones records the diphthong regularly in this transcription as [aʊ] and this accords with American pronunciation; but in Michaelis-Jones, *A Phonetic Dictionary*, the diphthong is given as [aʊ].

[fər]. The [r] here is intervocalic in context.

1. 4. [hæ:d]. The sound [ə:] is represented in our alphabet by [A:], but it seemed best to retain Mr. Jones's symbol for the sound, which he describes as half-open (that is, half-low), mixed (meaning the middle portions of the tongue), tense, unrounded.

1. 8. [streɪndʒ]. In American pronunciation the vowel would be [eɪ] or [eɪ̯].

1. 9. [ʌtmoʊst]. The first element of the diphthong is described by Mr. Jones as half-close (i.e., half-high), back, slack, rounded, and it therefore corresponds pretty exactly to [ɔ] as this symbol is used in the present book. But it did not seem advisable to change it to [ɔ], for Mr. Jones uses this symbol also, for a sound which he describes as open (i.e., low), back, slack, with slight lip rounding. The difference between his [o] and his [ɔ] cannot be great, but in any case the first element of his [ou] must not be taken as meaning the sound represented in our alphabet by [o], but a sound nearer to [ɔ].

## XVIII

'sant

(a)

- matʃ hæv aɪ trævæld ɪn ðə relmz əv goʊld,  
 ænd menɪ ɡʊdlɪ steɪts ænd kɪŋdəmz sɪn;  
 raʊnd menɪ westən aɪləndz hæv aɪ bɪn,  
 maɪtʃ baɪdz ɪn fɪəltɪ tu əpələ hoʊld.  
 5 aɪft əv wʌn waɪd ɛkspæns hæd aɪ bɪn toʊld  
 ðæt diɪp-brʌʊd hoʊmə ruɪld əz hɪz dɪmɪn;  
 ʃet dɪd aɪ nəvə brɪð ɪts pjʊə sɪrɪn  
 tɪl aɪ haɪd tʃæpmən spɪk aʊt laʊd ænd boʊld:  
 ðæn felt aɪ laɪk sʌm wɒtʃər əv ðə skaɪz  
 10 mæn ə njuː plænɪt swɪmz ɪntu hɪz kən;  
 ə laɪk stʌʊt kɔːtɪz mæn wɪð ɪgəl aɪz  
 hɪr stæɪd ət ðə pəsɪfɪk — ænd ɔɪl hɪz mæn  
 lʊkt ət ɪɪtʃ ʌðə wɪð ə waɪld səmaɪz,  
 saɪlənt əpən ə pɪk ɪn daɪrɪən.

(b)

l. 1. go:ld.

l. 4. ho:ld.

l. 2. steɪts.

l. 5. ɪkspæns, bɪn, toɪld.

l. 6. hoimə.

l. 7. pjuiə.

l. 8. bould.

l. 14. de:riən.

(c)

l. 3. westərn.

l. 4. ba:ɪdz.

l. 6. hoiməɪ.

l. 7. pjuiɪ.

l. 8. həɪd.

l. 11. ɔɪ, kəɪtɛz.

l. 12. stæɪd.

l. 13. ʌðɪ, səɪmɔɪz.

## Sonnet

Much have I traveled in the realms of gold,  
 And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;  
 Round many western islands have I been,  
 Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.  
 Oft of one wide expanse had I been told  
 That deep-browed Homer ruled as his demesne;  
 Yet did I never breathe its pure serene  
 Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold:  
 Then felt I like some watcher of the skies  
 When a new planet swims into his ken;  
 Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes  
 He stared at the Pacific — and all his men  
 Looked at each other in a wild surmise,  
 Silent upon a peak in Darien.

## REMARKS

This sonnet, by Keats, is transcribed here as given in a *Report of a Joint Committee representing the National Educational Association, the American Philological Association, and the Modern Language Association of America, on the Subject of a Phonetic English Alphabet*, New York, 1904. The first version gives the sonnet "as read by an Englishman — a graduate of Oxford — whose utterance may be taken as fairly representing that of educated Londoners"

(p. 38). The set of variant readings under (b) are those differences from the pronunciations of (a) which occurred in the reading of the same sonnet by "a New Englander — a member of the Harvard faculty." The readings under (c) are those differences from (b) which occurred in the reading of the sonnet by "a Michigan man some time resident in New York."

l. 1 [aɪ]. In the phonetic alphabet used in the above report, the diphthong known as 'long i,' is regularly transcribed with [aɪ] as its first element. This transcription is retained in the present passage, though the author's observation is that the vowel is ordinarily [a].

[gould]. Note the diphthongal character of long vowels in the Englishman's pronunciation as compared with that of (b) and (c).

l. 6. [hoʊmə]. The second element of the diphthong as recorded here is the vowel of **much**, **one**, etc.

l. 12. [stæɪd]. The *Report*, p. 21, recognizes the similarity of the vowel in this word to [ɛ:]. Might not this word have been transcribed ['stɛɪəd]?

l. 14. [əpən]. So recorded in all three pronunciations, which means that it was pronounced by all three readers without stress. But it might be pronounced [ə'pən].

## XIX

### wɪnd ænd sən

#### (a)

#### Southern British

ðə nɔɪθ wɪnd ænd ðə sən waɪ dɪs'pjʊɪntɪŋ wɪtʃ wəz  
 ðə 'strɒŋgə, wen ə 'trævlə keɪm ə'lɒŋ ræpt ɪn ə wɔɪm  
 klouk. ðeɪ ə'grɪnd ðæt ðə wɒn huɪ faɪst meɪd ðə 'trævlə  
 teɪk ʌf (h)ɪz klouk ʃʊd bi kən'sɪdəd 'strɒŋgə ðən ðɪ  
 5 'ʌðə. ðen ðə nɔɪθ wɪnd bluɪ wɪð ɔɪl hɪz maɪt, bət ðə  
 mɔɪ hiɪ bluɪ, ðə mɔɪ 'klouslɪ dɪd ðə 'trævlə fould (h)ɪz  
 klouk ə'raʊnd hɪm; ænd et laɪst ðə nɔɪθ wɪnd geɪv ʌp  
 ðɪ ə'tem(p)t. ðen ðə sən ʃən aʊt 'wɔɪmlɪ, ænd ɪ'mɪ-

djetli ðə 'trævlə tuk əf (h)ɪz klouk; ənd sou ðə nəɪθ  
 10 wind wəz ə'blaɪdʒd tə kən'fes ðət ðə san wəz ðə  
 'strɒŋgə əv ðə tui.

(b)

**Northern British**

ðə nəɪθ wind ənd ðə san wɛɪ dɪs'pjʊtɪŋ mɪʃ wəz ðə  
 strɒŋgə, mən ə 'trævlə keɪm ə'lɒŋ rapt ɪn ə wɔɪm  
 kloɪk. ðeɪ ə'grɪnd ðət ðə wæn hu fæɪst meɪd ðə 'træv-  
 ləɪ teɪk əf hɪz kloɪk ʃʊd bɪ kən'sɪdəɪd 'strɒŋgə ðən  
 5 ðɪ 'ʌðəɪ. ðen ðə nəɪθ wind blui wɪð əɪl hɪz mɑɪt, bæt  
 ðə məɪɪ hɪ blui, ðə məɪɪ 'kloɪslɪ dɪd ðə 'trævlə fəʊld  
 hɪz kloɪk ə'raʊnd hɪm; ənd ət lɑst ðə nəɪθ wind geɪv  
 ʌp ðɪ ətem(p)t. ðen ðə san ʃən aʊt 'wɔɪmli, ənd  
 ɪ'mɪdʒetli ðə 'trævlə tuk əf hɪz kloɪk; ənd soɪ ðə nəɪθ  
 10 wind wəz ə'blaɪdʒd tʊ kən'fes ðət ðə san wəz ðə  
 'strɒŋgə əv ðə tui.

(c)

**American English**

ðə nəɪθ wind ən ðə san wɛɪ dɪs'pjʊtɪŋ əz tə mɪʃ  
 wəz ðə 'strɒŋgɪst, mən ə 'trævlə keɪm ə'lɒŋ, ræpt  
 ɪn ə wɔɪm klouk. ðe ə'grɪnd ðət ðə wæn hu meɪd ðə  
 'trævlə teɪk əf ɪz kout fæɪst ʃəd bɪ kən'sɪdəɪd 'strɒŋgə  
 5 ðən ðə 'ʌðəɪ. ðen ðə nəɪθ wind bljuɪ wɪð əɪl ɪz mɑɪt;  
 bæt ðə məɪɪ ɪ bljuɪ, ðə məɪɪ 'kloʊslɪ ðə 'trævlə 'fəʊldɪd  
 ɪz klouk ə'raʊnd ɪm; ənd ət læst ðə nəɪθ wind geɪv ʌp  
 ðɪ ə'tempt. ðen ðə san ʃoɪn aʊt 'wɔɪmli (or bæ'gæn  
 tə ʃaɪn aʊt hæt), ənd ɪn ə fju 'moɪmənts ðə 'trævlə  
 10 tuk əf ɪz klouk. so ðə nəɪθ wind wəz ə'blaɪdʒd tə  
 kən'fes ðət ðə san wəz ðə 'strɒŋgə əv ðə tui.

### Wind and Sun

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first made the traveller take off his cloak should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew with all his might, but the more he blew, the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak; and so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

### REMARKS

These three versions of the fable of the Sun and Wind are taken from a pamphlet, *The Principles of the International Phonetic Association*, pp. 20-22, published as a supplement to the *Maître Phonétique*, Sept.-Oct., 1912. They are supposed to represent "the average pronunciation of educated persons in each case," the first Southern English in England, the second Northern English in England, the third American English "for New York State and the central portion of the United States." They are presented here for comparative study, the most interesting conclusion from such study probably being the close similarity to be observed between American English and British Northern English. The version in American English is in some respects a travesty. It is throughout on a more colloquial level than the other two versions, but besides is needlessly changed in other details. In the first sentence, "as to which was the strongest" is dialectal American usage, not that of "educated persons." Similar uncalled-for changes are "began to shine out hot" for "shone out warmly," and "in a few moments" for "immediately." The phonetic details of the version of American English are also open to criticism in some respects. The sound of *r* is not the same in all positions; the vowel of *the* before *other* would



not be [ə]; **blew** would be [blu:], not [blju:]; the diphthong in **might** is [maɪt], not [maɪt]; the vowel of **strongest**, **stronger** is short, not long; and the diphthongal character of [e:] and [o:] is less marked and general than the transcription would lead one to suppose. The transcriptions also make a distinction between British and American use in the vowel of **wind**, **which**, etc., which is supposed to be slightly lower in American than in British use, being high slack in British pronunciation and between high slack and high-mid slack in American usage. The reality of this distinction seems very doubtful, and the author has disregarded it in his versions of the transcriptions. For the vowel of words like **bird**, **hurt**, when the *r* is not pronounced, the symbol [ʌ:] has been substituted for [ə:]. Note the Northern British use of [a] where Southern British and American have [æ].



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